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THE POLICY OF TRINITY PARISH

A SERMON

PREACHED IN TRINITY CHURCH, NEW YORK

ON

LOW SUNDAY, APRIL 18TH, 1909

BY

WILLIAM THOMAS MANNING, D. D.

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THE POLICY OF TRINITY PARISH.

And whatsoever ye do, do it heartily, as to the Lord, and not unto men; knowing that of the Lord ye shall receive the reward of the inheritance; for ye serve the Lord Christ.—Colossians III., 23, 24.

Under ordinary circumstances I should not at this time, after less than twelve months as Rector of Trinity Parish, choose to say very much as to any work that may have been so far accomplished, or as to what in my judgment ought to be the general policy of this great religious organization.

However definitely and clearly one may have decided in his own mind upon a general line of action, it is well to be somewhat slow about announcing a policy or making public declaration of one's plans, and this applies especially in cases where the undertaking is a great one and the problems to be met are many and complex.

The present situation, however, is not an ordinary one, and it is one which demands a plain and public statement from the Rector of the Parish. I should have made such a statement long before this but for the fact that legal proceedings had been taken against us and that I was advised by counsel that while the case was undecided I must refrain from speaking upon matters connected with it. The consequence of this has been that while others have been free to make any statements that they chose, we have been restrained from speaking, even in our own defense. The decision of the Court just rendered, which should be read by all who wish to judge fairly of this matter, has shown how entirely unwarranted and without ground this legal action was, and to that I need make no further reference.

In many of its aspects the recent attack upon Trinity Parish has been similar to those to which, from whatever cause, the Parish has been subjected from time to time during its history.

The air has been full of the most astonishing statements and the most positive assertions, many of which have already proved to have no foundation in fact. Charges have been made against the Vestry of this Parish the nature of which was perhaps hard-

ly realized, which no serious person could have been expected to believe, but such as, for the sake of much that we most value in our life and institutions, ought not to be made without the gravest reason against any individuals, and certainly not against men who without advantage of any kind to themselves have been called upon to render an arduous service to the Church and to the community.

And yet I do not for one moment believe that the Press of this City, as a whole, desires to do injustice to Trinity Parish or to those who represent it, nor do I believe that the public at large cherishes anything but good will towards an institution which is so truly a part of our history and life as Trinity Parish is. I believe that if the public wish for this Parish could find expression, it would be only that it may fulfil to the utmost the high and sacred purposes for which it exists.

Even the attacks, harmful as some of them undoubtedly have been, have served to show the interest which this community feels in all that relates to the old Mother Parish—and that interest is the measure of our opportunity; that interest is the evidence of the unequalled influence for good which Trinity Church has power to exercise throughout this whole City. Criticism, and even abuse, there may sometimes be, but these are only on the surface, and underneath there is another and a different feeling. The outcry which has been raised in regard to St. John's Chapel is a real, though faint and far-off, indication of the feeling that there is deep down in the heart of every true New Yorker for "Old Trinity."

THE SPIRIT BEHIND THE CRITICISM.

It is a strange and striking fact, however, that the most bitter and the most openly unjust attacks upon the Parish at this time have come from a few persons within the Church itself. Honest difference of judgment is possible, and frank expression of opinion ought to be welcome upon almost any question; but the recent discussion can hardly be said to have been conducted in the spirit of generous and helpful criticism, or even within the limits of courteous debate. It has been surprising to observe what someone has called "the unrelieved pugnacity and unconscionable dogmatism" which have marked much of the discussion. Statements have

been published, not once only, but week after week, placing Trinity Parish in a wholly wrong and false light and doing it very great and, to all appearance, deliberate injustice.

Charges and insinuations have been made to some of which it is needless to reply. Misrepresentation and misstatement are often best left to die of themselves. Even the Bishop of the Diocese has not escaped. For the grave offense of forming a judgment contrary to those who were condemning the course of Trinity Parish he has been treated in a manner which has roused the Clergy of the City at last to open and public protest. He has been charged with a lack of courage and of leadership and with espousing the cause of the rich against the poor. Many have felt that it showed anything but a lack of courage for the Bishop to take the stand which he did take in this matter. He at least could not be accused of taking the popular side, and to the outrageous charge that he was taking the side of the rich against the poor his whole life and ministry are the sufficient answer.

It has been said that this episode has done harm to the Church as a whole. It has unquestionably so done, and the persons who are responsible for this are those who, whether unintentionally or otherwise, have misrepresented the facts, placed the matter persistently in a wrong light, and misstated the case in a way which has confused and misled many earnest and conscientious people. The most deplorable aspect of an attack conducted in this spirit is not the injustice which it does to any individual or to any particular institution, but the grievous hurt and injury which it does to the Church and to the whole cause of Religion.

But leaving all these things aside, I want to come to other and different matters. Very much of the recent criticism of Trinity Parish has directed itself against the policies of the past. My concern at the present moment is not with any of the past policies of the Parish. These belong now to history, and they will find their true and just judgment, whatever there may be in us of partiality on the one hand or of prejudice and passion on the other.

My responsibility is for the present and the future, and it is of these that I wish to speak, and that I may meet my full responsibility I ask nothing more than that I may be found as

faithful in my day and as true to my own vision of duty and opportunity as he was, whose noble and saintly ministry I have been called to follow.

I want first to call your attention to certain things which have been accomplished in the past few months, certain steps which have been taken, the importance and significance of which has perhaps not been fully realized and which, because of their significance, ought to be brought strongly to the attention of every one interested in this Parish.

THE POLICY OF PUBLICITY.

1st. Trinity Parish has adopted the policy of publicity. The Vestry has issued a full public statement of the financial affairs of the Parish, showing not only its annual income and expenditure in the same way that many parishes do, but giving also a full report of its assets and liabilities. Everything that this Parish owns or in any way controls is included in that statement. It can never again be said with truth that Trinity Parish pursues a policy of secrecy or of mystery. There are, I believe, very few parishes or religious corporations, whether of our own Communion or any other, which issue so complete a statement of their financial affairs as this Parish has lately issued, although Grace Church, our daughter and sister parish, in whose company it is an honor to be named, has issued such a statement since our own was published. I rejoice in this step, and believe in it unqualifiedly.

I wish to say distinctly that this full statement of the affairs of the Parish represents no mere measure of expediency adopted to meet a passing situation, but that it is a part of the policy which was in my mind when I was made Rector. It was under consideration and discussion before any of the recent agitation arose. We should in any event have issued it, and as Rector I shall stand always to the full extent of my power for this same policy. I welcome the interest of the public in the work which the Parish is doing, and am glad for all men to know how the funds entrusted to us are being used. There may be those who think that other and different work should be done and that the funds might in this or that respect be more effectively applied, but our statement shows that the whole of the income of the Parish, which is not used in the maintenance or improve-

ment of its property, is expended in religious and charitable and educational work of one kind or another, and that last year the expenditure was greater than the income.

NEW RELIGIOUS ACTIVITIES.

2d. The second fact to which I wish to call your attention is that Trinity Parish has now taken up, as a regular and definite part of its work, Evangelistic Services and Street Preaching. There is a vast field for such work in New York to-day, and it seems a happy thing that the old Mother Church should lead the way and be the first of all our parishes to branch out and see what can be done along this line of service. The Rev. Mr. Wilkinson, who is to be our Evangelist, is well known in this city and elsewhere for his unusual gifts for this work. I am told that on a recent occasion in England the Bishop of London said that one of the most inspiring services in which he ever took part was a service in Wall Street conducted by Mr. Wilkinson. Our Evangelist is to give his whole time to work of this character, seeking men out and ministering to them wherever and whenever he may find them; and he is to carry on Evangelistic Services regularly in St. John's Chapel.

I feel a very deep interest in these out-of-door services and shall hope at times, when my other far too numerous duties will permit, to have part in them and share the privilege of them with Mr. Wilkinson. I have received many letters from leading clergymen and well known business men of our own and other communions expressing great interest in this work and great satisfaction that Trinity Parish has undertaken it and that St. John's Chapel is to be put to so good a use and one so well calculated to meet the needs in its vicinity. The undertaking of work of this character, in a definite and permanent way, is a new departure not only for our own Parish, but for our Church in this city, and I believe that very great results may follow from it.

CONDITION OF TENEMENT PROPERTIES.

3d. The third matter of which I wish to speak is the condition of our tenement property. I must begin by saying that very many of the statements which have been made as to the condition of the dwelling house property owned by Trinity

Parish are grossly untrue. Pictures have many times been published, in both magazines and newspapers, with the statement that the wretched tenements shown in them were the property of Trinity Parish, when in fact neither the houses shown nor the land on which these stood were owned by the Parish or in any way connected with it.

Certain papers have even published pictures implying that our property is the home of drunkenness and vice and disorder. No paper could be guilty of a more serious misrepresentation. Nowhere upon our property are any conditions of this sort to be found. The conditions in these respects are, in fact, unusually good. With three exceptions, fully explained in our recently published Statement, no liquors are sold on any of our property, and nowhere upon it is there a gambling house or a house of questionable reputation. Our houses are occupied by people of most respectable character, very many of the families having lived in the same place for years and some of them for several generations.

The dwelling house property of the Parish consists for the most part of small, old-fashioned houses, none of them built by the Parish, but reverting to it upon the expiration of leases. Originally one family lived in each of these houses, but now each house is occupied by two families or more. I think that any one inspecting the property as a whole would be impressed with the comfortable and homelike appearance of most of the houses.

The condition of much of the property is good; the condition of none of it is anything like so bad as has frequently been asserted, but having said this I must also say, on the other hand, that there are important improvements which need to be made and that there is some of the property the condition of which is far from being what it ought to be and from being what we intend that it shall be. This unsatisfactory situation cannot always be avoided, for property of this sort comes to us at the expiration of the leases in run-down and exhausted condition and constitutes, at least temporarily, a difficult problem. Whatever the difficulties, however, I say unhesitatingly that, as property owners, our responsibility for the condition of any dwelling house property owned by the Parish is the most vital and fundamental, and one of the most sacred of all the obligations resting upon us, and that we are bound to do every-

thing in our power to meet this responsibility. The long leases under which much of the property has been held have many of them expired, and we are able now to deal with this property in a way which, some time ago, would not have been possible.

Since becoming Rector I have given a great deal of time and thought and work to this question. In company with members of the Vestry I have visited many of the houses on our property. Plans long in hand have been carried forward, new plans of far-reaching importance have been formed, and work upon some of them is already under way. I hold that in this matter we ought to set not only a high standard, but the very highest. Far better, if necessary, that all our charities should be given up and all our churches and schools closed than that we should maintain any of them by revenue derived from property in an unsanitary or questionable condition.

In discussing this subject I have used the word Parish instead of Corporation. I have done this purposely, because so far as our responsibility is concerned, there can be no distinction between these two. Trinity Parish is a Religious Institution, not a Business Institution, and while, like every other organization in this world, it has, and must have, its business side, its business cannot be separated from its religion. As Rector of the Parish my primary responsibility is for its religious acts, but I claim also my full share of responsibility for its business acts, and I have found in the Vestry a most earnest desire that this whole matter of our property shall be dealt with not merely from the business point of view, but from the standpoint of religion, of social responsibility and of enlightened citizenship.

THE RIGHT TO VOTE.

4th. The fourth matter to which I invite your attention is that Trinity Parish has established upon the broadest and most inclusive basis possible the right of its communicants to vote at the election of Wardens and Vestrymen, and so to exercise control in the affairs of the Parish. Within the past few weeks, after careful consideration by our legal counsel, it has been decided, to the very great satisfaction of the Vestry and myself, that not only the duly qualified members of the congregations

of Trinity Church, St. Paul's Chapel, St. John's Chapel, Trinity Chapel and St. Agnes's Chapel have the right to vote, but also those of St. Luke's Chapel and the Chapel of the Intercession.

The statement has been publicly made that the right of the people of St. John's and St. Luke's Chapels to vote was conceded to them by the Vestry only on account of pressure from without, and that even now there is no guarantee that this right is secured to them permanently. The statement does not stand alone. It is only one of many similar amazing and wholly unsupported assertions. It is not only misleading—it is entirely untrue. The greatest possible care was taken by the Vestry to see that the action which they were taking should not in any way impair or jeopardize the right of the people of St. John's to vote at the Easter Election. The question of the right of the congregation of St. Luke's to vote was taken up voluntarily and as a part of the whole question of the voting rights of the Parish; and before the institution of any legal proceedings the matter had been submitted to counsel and the opinion of counsel had been given that the duly qualified members of the congregation of St. Luke's Chapel were legally entitled to vote. As to the further assertion that there is no guarantee that this right is to be permanently exercised, the voting rights of any chapel when once established are well known to be as permanently secure as those of the congregation of Trinity Church itself. It is not within the legal power of the corporation to disturb these rights even if they desired to do so.

The great fact, however, is that the voting rights of the Parish are now extended to the widest possible limit of which the law in the case admits, and are established upon an unusually broad and democratic basis. With the exception of the Chapel on Governor's Island, the conditions of which are unusual, and of St. Chrysostom's and St. Augustine's, both of which were established under an act which does not admit of their exercising this privilege, the right to vote is possessed equally by all our congregations in every part of the city.

The qualifications prescribed by our Charter are such that the poorest man in our congregation can be a Corporator equally with the richest, and it is the glory of Trinity Parish to-day, as it has been in the past, that the great majority of the people to whom she ministers are poor.

HOW TRINITY REACHES THE POOR.

It has even been asserted that the congregation of Trinity Church to-day is able to support that Church and to carry on its work without the help of the endowments of the Parish.

I am compelled to say that anyone making such a statement betrays either a complete ignorance of the facts or a desire wilfully to misrepresent them. The work of Trinity Church has become largely that of a downtown Cathedral, gathering and ministering to great congregations made up of people from all quarters, comparatively few of whom have any parochial connection with it.

Some of the old and wealthy families who still retain their pews in the Church no longer belong to the Parish or maintain any relation to its work.

Of the twelve hundred communicants on the list at Trinity Church, the very great majority are poor people brought into membership through the noble work of the Clergy and the Sisters of St. Mary at the Trinity Mission House on Fulton Street.

At St. Agnes', while there are a good many well-to-do people, by far the greater part of the congregation consists of people earnest, devoted, the very salt of our American life, but of slender means, and many of the most faithful members are of the very poor. At the Chapel of the Intercession the conditions are much the same as at St. Agnes'.

To say nothing of the churches in poor neighborhoods which are assisted by Trinity Parish, the very situations of the Chapels of the Parish, St. Luke's on Hudson Street, St. Augustine's just off the Bowery, St. John's in Varick Street, St. Paul's, between Fulton and Vesey Streets, St. Chrysostom's at Thirty-ninth Street and Seventh Avenue, are sufficient to tell any one who knows New York that Trinity Parish has been striving primarily to minister to the poor. It is certainly no crime to minister to the rich, who are often more in need of spiritual help than any others, but Trinity Church may justly be called "the rich church of the poor people."

A visit to some of these Chapels would be a revelation to many people. Some of those who have recently made public statements about the work of this Parish have not troubled them-

selves to learn—I much fear that they have not wanted to learn —of the earnest work among Italians that is being carried on at St. Augustine's, at which Chapel more than 10,000 persons have been baptized during the past 25 years; of the Sunday school for the Chinese at St. Paul's, with 75 members; and of the Business Women's Club at that Chapel, with 550 members and an attendance on every week day except Saturday of 400 or more; of the deep interest in all social questions and the pastoral devotion to the poor which have always characterized the work at St. Chrysostom's; of the noble and devoted work done among the needy in that downtown region through the Mission House on Fulton Street, in connection with Trinity Church itself, a work which among its various branches includes an admirably conducted Dispensary, a Relief Bureau and a large Fresh Air work for boys and girls, for whom a Home is maintained at Islip, Long Island. All of these good works in connection with the Mother Church are supported, not by the endowments of our Parish, but by the free will offerings of the people. In addition to these, the Athletic Clubs, the Night Schools, the Manual Training Schools, the Cooking Schools, the Laundry School, the Schools of Stenography, the Free Kindergartens and other branches of work, far too numerous to mention, carried on in all parts of the Parish, make it almost inconceivable that any one should be willing to say, as it has, however, been said in print, that Trinity Church has done little or nothing for years past but conduct stately services and parochial schools along old-fashioned lines.

Stately services there have been, and, please God, these there shall always be, as well as services in Mission Halls and services on street corners; and the Day Schools, in which nearly a thousand children are now receiving free education, have been an untold blessing to many lives and homes. But those who are willing to see can easily learn that there has been, in addition, an enormous amount of quiet and unostentatious and faithful work among the poor, very much of it carried on in precisely those regions of this city where the conditions are most discouraging and the problems are most difficult.

I have spoken of some of the great and significant steps that we have taken in this Parish in the past few months. The adoption of the policy of publicity; the taking up of Evangelis-

tic work; the pushing forward of plans for the improvement of our dwelling house property; the establishing on the most inclusive basis possible of the right of our people to vote and so to share in the control of the Parish. These are, I think, sufficient to show what we are doing, and to meet the charge sometimes made that Trinity Church never moves and never makes any change in its policy; and I wish to say once again that these are not measures which we have adopted unwillingly, or as a mere concession to agitation or pressure from without. They represent and stand for the policy in which for my own part I wholly believe; they are a part of the general plan which has been in my mind from the beginning, and which I know has been in the minds of many of the Vestrymen, and they would have been brought about quite independently of any of the recent agitation or discussion.

While this agitation has served to hasten some of these measures, it has served to retard and to create difficulties in the way of others, though it will not permanently interfere with or affect any of them.

AID TO STRUGGLING CHURCHES.

Let me now speak of one or two of the many other questions relating to the policy of the Parish, to which in due time I hope to give thought and attention.

It is my hope that it may be possible for us so to rearrange our work in certain ways and so to revise our budget that, without impairing or lessening the efficiency of the work carried on by our own Chapels, we may be able to give more largely to the help of weak and struggling churches in the Diocese and to good causes needing our help. It will not of course be possible for us in this matter to meet all expectations or to satisfy all desires. There will doubtless always be those who, for one cause or another, will see reason to disapprove our course. Few persons have any idea of the steady stream of appeals pouring in from near and far upon the Rector of Trinity Parish. It is an impossibility even to consider all of them, much as I wish that I could respond favorably to every one; and those whose requests cannot be complied with sometimes think this hard. Large as our income is, it has a limit, and our expendi-

tures are correspondingly large. Our financial statement for last year shows a deficit of $11,965.92.

It seems to be contended by some that, under the terms of its Charter, Trinity Parish does not hold its property in its own right, but only as a sort of Trustee for the Church in the whole Diocese. This is a question not of opinion or of preference, but of fact. If the facts bear out the statements which are made to this effect they ought of course to be accepted and acted upon, but if the facts do not bear them out such statements ought not to be made, for in that case they create misapprehension and cast a serious reflection upon the whole history and work of this Venerable Parish. I have been able to find no foundation for any such claim in history, in law or in justice, and the result of my own researches is fully borne out by the conclusions of some of the ablest lawyers in this city, not connected with Trinity Corporation, these conclusions being reached after most careful investigation of the matter. Many of the statements made and some of those which have been recently published, as to the terms on which Trinity Church received its Charter and as to the way in which it came into possession of its property, are incorrect and entirely unhistorical. Both legally and morally Trinity Parish has exactly the same right to its property that any other parish has to property which it holds. But in another and far higher sense Trinity Church, like all other churches, does hold all that it has for the good of the whole Church. We are certainly bound to see to it that in the fullest measure possible our resources are used in those ways which will most help forward the whole work of the Diocese and of the Church of which we are a part, and I do most earnestly hope that we may be able in certain ways so to revise and reorganize our own work that it may be possible for us to give more help to the weaker parishes and missions of the Diocese.

CONCENTRATION OF EFFORT.

This brings me naturally to speak of a measure looking in this very direction which has met with much opposition at the hands of people not well informed either as to the facts or as to our purposes. I refer to the consolidation of the work at St. John's and St. Luke's Chapels.

I must first speak of an unworthy attempt which has been made to make it appear that, in spite of the resolution which he wrote calling for the active consideration of the question, Dr. Dix did not really intend this consolidation to take place, and that he wrote and offered his resolution unwillingly and only under strong pressure from the Vestry. Those who are best in a position to know what Dr. Dix's mind was on this subject know that this presentation of the matter is as unjust to the late Rector and to the Vestry as it is false in itself.

Can any one who knew him imagine the late Rector of this Parish writing the resolution which he did write, unwillingly and under pressure, and not intending it to have any practical effect? Nothing could be more preposterous or more foreign to his whole nature and character. And, if after writing the resolution, he had changed his mind, does anyone think that he would have hesitated to say so to the Vestry or to withdraw his resolution?

I protest against this insinuation, for the slur which it seeks to cast upon the Vestry, a body of honorable men, and still more I protest against it for the position—an utterly impossible one for him—in which it seeks to place the late honored and revered Rector of this Parish.

I am able to assert, and I do assert, that no pressure of any sort was brought to bear upon Dr. Dix to induce him to take action in this matter, but that after years of thought he wrote the resolution bearing upon it and presented it at the meeting of the Vestry on his own motion and of his own free will, and further that he never by word or sign intimated to any member of the Corporation, or so far as I know to anyone, the least change in his attitude towards the question as expressed in his resolution.

It has been publicly declared, in support of the position above referred to, that Dr. Dix made statements in sermons and in private conversations which showed, that whatever action he might have taken in the Vestry, he was opposed to the consolidation of the parochial work of St. John's and St. Luke's. As to these sermons and conversations I know nothing. I never heard of them until after this discussion arose and only know now what I have seen published about them in certain papers. I do know, however, that of all men who have ever lived the

late Rector of Trinity Parish was one of the least likely to initiate formal action in his Vestry and then make statements either publicly or privately in any real conflict with that action. I do know what Dr. Dix wrote on this question in the Year Book of 1893 and I shall quote this later. I do know that of his own motion he wrote and offered his resolution in regard to the matter in November, 1907. And I do know as already stated that he never said to me or to any member of the Vestry one word which indicated directly or indirectly the least desire on his part to modify or withdraw from the action which he had taken.

But, having said this in the interest of truth and justice, I want to say that, although I did not initiate this measure, but found it already under consideration upon my election to the Rectorship, I cannot on that account be absolved, and I am not willing to be in any degree absolved from responsibility for it. The responsibility for the measure rests upon me more than upon the late Rector, for, while he initiated it, I carried it into effect. If it had not commended itself to my judgment I have no doubt that I could have prevented it. I made no attempt to do this. I believed that the action proposed was right and wise and necessary, and I believe so still. In my judgment this action was delayed longer than it should have been, and might with advantage have been taken many years ago.

An effort has also been made to create the impression that the Vestry itself has been divided upon this question.

It has been stated through the public press that only four new names were placed in nomination at the recent election of Church Wardens and Vestrymen because this number, if they had been elected, would have been enough to give a majority to those who, within the Vestry, were opposed to the new plans for work at St. John's and St. Luke's. I wish to say authoritatively that there is not the smallest foundation in fact for any such statement.

There is no division whatever upon this matter in the Vestry.

The fact is that the Rector and Vestry, whose only concern is to devise ways for the most effective carrying on of the work of the Parish, and who may reasonably be supposed to know at least as much about this question as those who have been expressing themselves in regard to it, are wholly united in their judgment as to the plans proposed.

There has been no haste in adopting these plans. They have, in whole or in part, come before the Vestry a number of times, at meetings very fully attended, and the vote upon them has in every instance been a unanimous one.

In this connection I must say a few words as to the election of Church Wardens and Vestrymen held last Tuesday.

Under the circumstances, and judging from the many exaggerated statements which have been made, it might have been supposed that all the people belonging to St. John's would have supported the ticket presented in opposition to the Vestry.

As a matter of fact, however, no less than fifty of the one hundred and forty-two voters belonging to St. John's failed to do this.

Of the one hundred and forty-two names sent in from St. Johns's as entitled to vote, only ninety-two came to the polls. And, apart from St. John's, in spite of all the misstatement and misrepresentation that there has been, only thirty-two persons out of our entire Parish voted the opposition ticket..

I feel quite sure that those who voted this ticket did so from true and conscientious motives, and I fully respect their rights in so doing.

It is a most significant fact, however, that five hundred and twenty-nine men came out to vote for the present Vestry. The total vote at the annual election has usually been not more than twenty-five or thirty.

We can see, therefore, how the agitation against our Parish has already worked us good instead of harm. The interest and the sense of responsibility which it has aroused among the men of our congregations is without precedent, and I believe and hope that this interest will not subside.

Anyone who knows the conditions of New York business life will understand what it means for six hundred and fifty-three men to come and cast their votes at an election of Vestrymen.

This election is an evidence that the sober judgment of the Corporators of Trinity Parish may be fully relied upon, and it is, on the part of our people, an expression of confidence in the administration, which will be a great strength to the Rector and Vestry in the work which lies before them.

It has been loudly proclaimed by certain persons that our plans for the work at St. John's and St. Luke's Chapels were in violation of, and were condemned by, all righteous public sentiment.

It is a favorite method with controversialists to claim that they represent the public conscience, but, as American citizens, we are accustomed to regard the Ballot box as a surer indication of public sentiment than the assertions of any particular individual or of any particular newspaper.

There could hardly have been a better test of the public conscience in this matter than its submission, last Tuesday, to the whole body of the voters of the Parish.

They were directly interested in the question; they had certainly heard it fully discussed on the one side; they live in all parts of the city; very many of them are personally familiar with the situation at St. John's and St. Luke's; not a few of them have at some time lived in that region and have been connected with one or other of those chapels, and they have given their judgment in terms that no one can mistake.

Nothing could be more unjust and more contrary to the facts than the statement, which has been again and again repeated in print, that in taking this action we are abandoning a downtown region and deserting the poor. What we are doing is the very opposite of this. We are Trustees of the funds of Trinity Church, and as such we are bound to use these funds in the ways that we believe will accomplish the greatest and best results. The work at St. John's has been carried on for many years at a most extravagant cost. We are planning to apply the $30,000.00 which has been hitherto spent yearly upon St. John's Chapel alone in a way that will bring benefit to a vastly larger number of people in that district.

HOW THE WORK OF ST. JOHN'S AND ST. LUKE'S IS TO BE CARRIED ON.

Our plan of work for this region is a threefold one and includes the following distinct branches:

The first part of our plan is the consolidation of the ordinary parochial work of the two chapels at St. Luke's, which is now and has for many years been the proper center for this

work, and where we believe it can be carried on far more strongly and effectively than it has been heretofore from both centers. As will be shown later, St. John's and St. Luke's Chapels are not both needed for this work. The people now attending St. John's can all of them attend St. Luke's, and very many of them live much nearer to St. Luke's than to St. John's.

The second part of our plan is the taking up of work among other than English-speaking peoples at a different point within the district, for which we hope to arrange after the parochial work at St. Luke's is well under way.

The third part of our plan is the carrying on of Evangelistic Services at St. John's Chapel and also of certain branches of welfare work, which we believe will minister to a real need in that neighborhood. The region has been largely given over to business houses. The people who still live there are chiefly Roman Catholics, whom we have no wish to proselytize, but we hope that the informal services contemplated may draw in many of the workers from the warehouses and factories, and it is our purpose to provide comfortable rooms, where those who desire to do so may rest and read and eat their lunches, and also other helpful agencies for which there may prove to be opportunity.

It should be added that if the consolidated work at St. Luke's justifies this, as we hope and believe that it will, it is our purpose to build a new church with accompanying buildings especially suited to the needs of the congregation, though at present the buildings at St. Luke's are sufficient to meet these. St. Luke's Chapel as at present arranged will seat 700 people, and its structure can readily be so changed as to make it seat 1,000.

In the light of this plan, which has been more than once publicly announced, it is quite competent for anyone to say that he disapproves of the changes that we are making, and doubts their wisdom. It is not possible for any truthful person to say, or to continue to give the impression by his statements, that we are abandoning the region or deserting the poor.

Least of all the parishes in this city can Trinity Parish be accused of deserting the poor. Whatever other charges may be made, no one who has any knowledge of the facts can make this one.

In the action which the old Parish is now taking, it is re-arranging its work and changing its methods to meet in a larger and more effective way the changed conditions and the actual needs of one of the poorer neighborhoods to which it has so long been ministering. Another statement equally unjust and without foundation which has been made is that, in consolidating the parochial work of St. John's and St. Luke's Chapels, we are turning the people of St. John's adrift and depriving them of spiritual ministrations. The facts of the case wholly disprove any such assertion, and they show further that, in asking the people of St. John's to unite with those of St. Luke's, we are asking only what it would be right and reasonable to ask of any two congregations under the same circumstances. No one with any knowledge of the case can possibly say that this action was taken suddenly or that it was unanticipated by those connected with the work.

For nearly twenty years it has been understood generally and openly that these two chapels ought to be and must in time be united. Until the present unfortunate and wholly unnecessary situation was created, largely through the unhappy influence of persons not connected with our Parish, this course was recognized and accepted as the natural and right one, which must sooner or later be taken.

There has never been any secret about it. The late Rector wrote in the Year Book of 1893: "The old church of St. Luke on Hudson street, opposite Grove street, came into possession of Trinity Corporation December 1, 1892. . . . For the present and until the removal of St. John's to a new site not far from that of St. Luke's, this church will be maintained, with an adequate force of clergy and lay workers, as a part of the Parish of Trinity Church. . . . The Fields of St. John's and St. Luke's run into each other, and a new church, with suitable buildings, will soon be erected, to accommodate the united congregations." The matter has been constantly in mind and frequently under discussion ever since. The Revd. Philip A. H. Brown, the present Vicar of the two chapels, wrote last November, upon being notified that the action had been decided upon: "I of course anticipated some such move, but I cannot help feeling sorry for the necessity. I am glad for the ample notice that the clergy will have."

We are not asking the people of St. John's to go to a strange place. Ever since St. Luke's became a part of Trinity Parish in 1892, the two congregations have been united under one Vicar and have worked in the closest possible association. They have always, in Dr. Dix's words, "run into each other," and have been in many ways one congregation.

Not only have they always worked under one Vicar, that office being still held by the Revd. Philip A. H. Brown, but the curates have regularly conducted services in both chapels. Much of the work of both chapels has long been carried on at St. Luke's, because this has been recognized as the proper center for it. The kindergarten of the two chapels, which is described in the Year Book as "The Kindergarten of St. John's and St. Luke's Chapels," is conducted at St. Luke's. The Men's Club, called "The St. John's and St. Luke's Club," has long held all its meetings in the Parish House at St. Luke's. The Bishop has held only one Confirmation Service for the two Chapels, and the candidates from both congregations have been presented together in one class. The two chapels have only one branch of the Woman's Auxiliary, which includes the women of both congregations and is known as "The Woman's Auxiliary of St. John's and St. Luke's Chapels." During Lent the two congregations have been in the habit of uniting and attending the Wednesday night service in one of the Chapels and the Friday night service in the other. Many other facts might be given, but these are enough to show what the situation is and to make it clear that those who have supposed that we were asking the people of St. John's to unite with a congregation of strangers, or to go to some new and far-off place, have been entirely misled, and that, as already stated, the congregations of St. John's and St. Luke's, although worshipping in two churches, have in many ways long been united. All the work which has been done at St. John's can be continued at St. Luke's and the work as a whole can be carried on far more advantageously from that point.

PERSEVERANCE IN A BROAD POLICY.

The difficulties which have recently arisen will in a short time be overcome and forgotten. Several of the families who were

at first drawn into the agitation voluntarily withdrew from it sometime ago and have been attending regularly at St. Luke's.

A very large part of the responsibility for the situation which has been created rests upon certain persons quite outside our own parish and having no connection with it, who in defiance of all Church order and of all rules of Parochial comity, have felt at liberty to foment discord and to foster and encourage dissension within Trinity Parish. It is true that we are members one of another and that what concerns one parish is of interest to all the others, but this does not give individuals from one parish the right to intrude at will into the affairs of another; to constitute themselves judges in matters affecting the arrangement of its work and internal administration, and to create and direct organized opposition to measures decided upon by the duly constituted authorities of the parish. If this course which has been pursued in regard to Trinity Parish were generally adopted and followed in the case of other parishes, it would introduce a principle of anarchy which would mean an end of all order and peace and fellowship and the disruption of the Church.

It is impossible to defend the methods of those who have seen fit to oppose in this way the constituted authorities of the Parish acting with the openly expressed approval of the Bishop of the Diocese. But in spite of the feeling of antagonism which has been so unhappily aroused, the delay in carrying out this and other important measures which has been occasioned, and the opportunity to scoff and deride which has been given to those who are unfriendly to the Church, I see already that good has come out of this experience for the parish, and that through it we are stronger to do the work which is to follow, and I am confident that when our plans are fully carried into effect they will commend themselves to the faithful people of St. John's as well as to all who are sincerely interested in the spread of Christ's Kingdom in this city.

The plans of the Vestry do, as we have all along realized, call upon a small number of persons to suffer some inconvenience and to sacrifice associations which are dear to them but the number of those really so affected is very small and while sympathizing sincerely with them we must ask them to think of the many souls not now being reached at all who will

be benefited by the far larger development of the work which they all know will be possible with St. Luke's as the parochial centre.

When the work is consolidated it will be placed in strong and wise and capable hands and it will be my special desire that the clergy at St. Luke's shall do everything in their power to lessen any inconvenience which the change may occasion to the small number of our people who still live in the vicinity of St. John's.

THE PARISH IN ITS RELATION TO MISSIONS.

While discussing this subject of our general policy there is one other matter of which I must speak. I must express my fervent hope and desire that our great Parish as a whole may rise more and more to the fullest measure of its privilege and opportunity as regards the Missionary work of the Church. It is true that the very great majority of the Communicants throughout our Parish are people of small means. It is true that the congregations of many of our churches are composed entirely of the poor and that Trinity Parish has not anywhere among its people a tithe of the wealth of some other congregations in this city, although the gifts of its congregations have been held up to most absurd and ungenerous comparison with those of parishes conspicuous for the wealth of their people. It is to be remembered that the apportionment upon any Parish is based not upon its endowments, which may not be available for this purpose, but upon the willingness and ability of its people to give. But it is also true, and we who belong to this Parish must remember it, that the endowments which enable us to do our work among the poor have a direct bearing upon this matter, for they make it possible for us and they make it incumbent upon us to give more largely according to our means than we otherwise could give, to missions in every form, Parochial and General, in City and Diocese, in Western State and Foreign Country.

The trouble is not with endowments in themselves. The work of no one of our many congregations could be carried on without the support of our endowments. Very few of the strongest parishes in this city could continue the work which they are doing without their endowments, but, as I have said

in my letter upon this subject, sent to each one of you recently: "If the endowments of Trinity Parish should make us less willing to give of our own substance to God's work, they would be a distinct spiritual injury to us instead of a strength and a means of greatly enlarged power for service."

I know that we are all of us giving in many ways. We all have many responsibilities, many interests, many claims, but no other claim and no other interest can take the place of or relieve us from the responsibility of this one.

This matter of giving, and especially of giving to enable the Church of our Lord Jesus Christ to fulfil her world-wide Mission, is a primary obligation resting upon every one of us. The word of command in this matter comes direct from Him in Whom we believe. It is a question of our faithfulness as individual Christians. It is a matter of vital moment not only to the Church and to the world but to our own souls. We must all set ourselves earnestly to realize our responsibility and our high privilege in this regard, and to work and pray that our Parish may show an example of interest in missions that shall be an inspiration to the Church.

THE SUPREME PLACE OF WORSHIP.

And last, whatever changes of policy or of method we may be led to make as the days pass and the opportuuities for service grow and multiply about us, in one thing I pray that we may never change. I pray that this Parish may never be led into the mistake of giving to the Second Commandment of our Lord Jesus Christ the place that belongs to His First and still greater Commandment, or of allowing Work in any measure to usurp the place of Worship.

While giving itself to fuller and fuller service and learning ever new and larger ways of ministering to the needs of men, may our Parish stand in all the future, even as it has stood in all the past, supremely and above all else for true and living Faith in God, for glorious and holy Worship, for the ministering of the divinely-given Sacraments, for the carrying of heavenly help and comfort to the poor and the rich, the living and the dying, the sick and the well, for the preaching in all its fulness of the Everlasting Gospel, the Truth of God revealed in our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, and made known

to us through His Church, One, Holy, Catholic and Apostolic.

It is this foundation of faith in the Eternal and Unchanging One, the One Who in Christ has shown us the whole meaning of human life, which will give us the vision to see the needs and the strength and the purpose to meet them..

It is the constant remembrance that our work is being done "to the Lord and not unto men," and that we "serve the Lord Christ" which can alone give us strength sufficient to meet our great and far-reaching and unequalled opportunity.

Standing fast in the faith of Him in Whom we have believed, we shall not be moved or disturbed by change, we shall rejoice in it, if it be a way to larger service; and in the midst of whatever changes it may see Trinity Parish will still stand for the Changeless amid the Transitory.

May these, then, be our two watchwords: Faith and Service. First, faith in God and in His Truth, divinely and once for all revealed; and then, founded on this and inspired by it, the enlarging life, the growing vision, the increasing service which shall make this venerable Mother Parish of the Diocese, with each year that passes, more and more a blessing and a power for God in the Church and in the City.

SECOND EDITION

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BY

WILLIAM T. MANNING, S.T.D.

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The Protestant Episcopal Church and Christian Unity

By William T. Manning, S.T.D.

The minds of men today are turned toward unity. They are at least becoming convinced of the practical evils of division. And there is a manifest longing for a unity that has outward and visible expression. The idea of a unity with no outward manifestation, a soul without a body, has not been justified by experience. It has become evident that those who preach a mere invisible unity propagate actual disunion. It is plain that there can be no adequate unity among Our Lord's followers until it shall again become possible for them, without violation of principle or of conscience, to kneel together at one Altar, there to eat of the One Bread and to drink of the One Cup. And in many quarters Christians are realizing with new hope that Our Lord Himself prayed not only for an inward and spiritual unity which men

could not see, but for a unity outwardly and visibly manifested which should compel their attention, and which should be the proof of His Presence among them. His prayer for His Church was, and still is, "that they all may be one, even as Thou Father art in Me, and I in Thee, that they also may be in Us, that the world may believe that Thou didst send Me".

In the United States especially the religious situation is such as to bring home the need of reunion and to accentuate the desire for it. The process of disintegration has been carried further here than elsewhere. The experiment of division on the principle of individualism has been very fully worked out, and it is becoming only too clear that the theory of "the Churches" is weakening if not destroying all real belief in The Church. According to the latest statistics there are now in this country more than one hundred and sixty separate denominations bearing the name Christian. Our people thus have before them a striking object lesson and it is producing an effect. They see that the religious need of the country is not being effectively met. They see the grievous weakness, the waste of strength and resources resulting from the divisions among the Christian forces. And there is a growing impatience with this condition which is not without dangers of its own.

There is a tendency to place disproportionate emphasis on the practical advantages of unity to the obscuration of the higher considerations involved, and so to think of it only from the utilitarian point of view. It is a great gain that in the United States we are coming generally to see the disadvantages of division. But we have not yet at all generally arrived at a realization of what unity means. Many are disposed to accept some expedient or substitute for it which falls far below the true ideal. If we are to work effectively for reunion we must have the true ideal of it before us. We need to see, and shall without doubt in time see, far more generally and clearly than we now do,

the difference between any mere humanly devised scheme of union and the true Divinely given unity.

There is danger also in the increasing desire for quick results. Earnest but impatient souls cry out that there is no need for all this talk about the matter. If we want unity, all that we have to do is to "get together". Let the divisions be ignored, questions of doctrine are all of them unimportant, we should be ashamed to be kept apart by "our petty differences".

These pronouncements have an engaging and pleasant sound to the man in the street. They impress him as broad minded—wide awake—up to date. But they do not bear careful examination. They imply the entire unimportance of Christian Truth. That Life which came into this world in Christ is also "the Light". "The Life is the Light of men." Truth is second in importance only to Love. The ideal of unity without truth in the Church is as fallacious as the ideal of peace without righteousness in the State. The road to unity is not so simple and easy as this. The mistakes and sins of our fathers, and of ourselves are not to be so lightly atoned for and retrieved. Differences which have persisted through centuries can not be adjusted over night. The deep convictions of men's souls can not be dealt with in this fashion and the attempt so to deal with them results inevitably in irritations, misunderstandings and widened divisions. Doubtless some of the matters which have separated Christians are unimportant, perhaps even "petty" in themselves, but we must beware how we apply this word to any belief which expresses a sincere conviction. Nor must we make the kindred mistake of assuming that convictions with which we do not agree, and which perhaps stand in the way of some plan of united action in which we are interested, are the proof of narrowness and self-will. Pride and self-will are strong in all of us but they are as easily manifested by the casting away of doctrines as by holding fast to them. The fact that a man has religious convictions

which he can not compromise is in itself no evidence of a wrong spirit or of a lack of charity.

One of our greatest needs is to see clearly how deep and fundamental some of the differences are which at present divide Christians, so that we may in some measure realize the difficulties in the way of reunion and may not be discouraged because its progress is slow.

There is a growing tide of sentiment in favour of Christian reunion without much regard to Christian principles. A great number of people seem to think that religion means little more than moral conduct and general amiability, and therefore take it for granted that union in religious work, under any circumstances, must be right, and that any objection to it must necessarily be wrong. In this situation the position and mission of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States is one of great responsibility and opportunity. And in the interests of good understanding as well as of intelligent effort toward reunion, it is important that her relation to the situation should be clearly understood.

In the Providence of God it would seem that the Episcopal Church, together with the Churches which are included in the Anglican Communion, has a special work to do toward bringing about a great synthesis in the whole of Christendom. Her mission seems to be to hold up, and bear witness to, the ideal of Christian Reunion in its fullest and largest meaning. She has been given a special relation to the world situation as a whole and she must be true to it. By her fundamental faith as to the nature of the Church and also by the practical facts of her history and life she is called to look at the question of reunion in its world-wide aspect and, to the best of her power, "to think in terms of the whole". To a singular degree she is enabled and required by the peculiarities of her position to take into account the factors on both the Catholic and Protestant sides in the West and also to realize the great place which belongs to the Ancient East-

ern Orthodox Churches, as to which until recently many of us have been so amazingly ignorant, and which are now coming into close touch with the rest of the Christian world.

The Episcopal Church has always been in close relation and contact with Protestantism. Her easily misunderstood name is a curious evidence of this. She includes, and has always included, in her fold many who have strong Protestant tendencies and sympathies. She receives constant accessions from the ranks of Protestantism, and some of those who enter her communion retain much of their old point of view. She has many interests and aims in common with Protestantism, and is brought into frequent and valued association with its leaders and representatives. Still more, she holds in common with orthodox Protestants many of the great cardinal doctrines of the Christian Faith, and above all else is joined with them in belief in Our Lord Jesus Christ as God and Saviour. The life of the Episcopal Church has been much influenced by her contact with Protestantism. She recognizes fully and gladly the truths for which it stands. She does not believe that its struggle and its witness in the world have been without meaning. She knows that it has played a great part in the spiritual development of this country. She honours, and claims to share in, its love of freedom, its sense of personal responsibility, its loyalty to reason and conscience, its profound reverence for the authority of Scripture, its concern for direct relation between each individual soul and God.

The Episcopal Church stands in a relation of warm and living touch and of fellowship at many points with Protestantism. But her own faith and order as judged by the standards of the undivided Church are fundamentally and definitely Catholic. Her distinctive beliefs are those which have been held and taught by the Catholic Church throughout the world since the Apostles' days. She has inherited these through nineteen centuries of history.

In common with all the ancient Communions everywhere, both East and West, the Protestant Episcopal Church holds that the Church in its outward and visible organization, as well as in its inward life, is of Divine institution. With St. Paul she believes that the Church is the visible Body of which Christ is the invisible and living Head. The belief of the Episcopal Church, as officially set forth, and on every page assumed, in her Prayer Book, is that Our Lord Jesus Christ Himself established His Church in this world to be the organ and means of His continued life and work among men. She holds that all who are baptized into Him and are thus made sharers of His life, are members of this one Church which is His Body. Whether they realize this or not, even though they disbelieve it, and deny it, she holds that all who are baptized into Christ are members of His Church, and she does not hold nor believe that there can be any Church other than that visible society which Christ Himself created and which, in so far as it is true to itself and to its Head, is, and must in its very nature be, One, Holy, Catholic and Apostolic. The New Testament knows nothing of "Churches", except as these were local parts, particular congregations, of the one Church. The Episcopal Church therefore does not believe that there ought to be, or that there can be, separate Churches of men's making; she believes only in the one Church, which is Christ's own Body, in which He lives, and through which He still speaks and acts.

Again in common with all the ancient Communions, including at least three-fourths of all Christendom, the Episcopal Church believes that when Our Lord founded His Church in this world, He Himself appointed a self-perpetuating Ministry, and that this Ministry has come down to the present time through the succession of the Bishops. The Episcopal Church holds the Catholic doctrine that a Priest, ordained by a Bishop, in direct succession from the Apostles, is indispensably necessary

for the Celebration of the Holy Communion, the central and characteristic act of the Christian Church. She pronounces no judgment as to the efficacy of sacred ordinances otherwise administered. But she holds herself bound wholly to the ancient ways which she believes to be of God's own appointment. That this is the belief of the Episcopal Church is made unmistakably clear in the Preface to her Ordinal. Her solemn and official declaration is that "It is evident unto all men, diligently reading Holy Scripture and Ancient Authors that from the Apostles' time there have been these Orders of Ministers in Christ's Church—Bishops, Priests and Deacons", and that "to the intent that these orders may be continued, and reverently used and esteemed in this Church, no man shall be accounted or taken to be a lawful Bishop, Priest or Deacon, in this Church, or suffered to execute any of the said Functions, except he . . . hath had Episcopal Consecration or Ordination". And that which she declares in word she carries out in her acts. That she herself holds her doctrine of the Priesthood to be Catholic is sufficiently demonstrated by one simple fact. A Priest of the Roman Catholic Church, of the Holy Orthodox Eastern Church, or of any Catholic Communion, coming into her fold, is not re-ordained, while on the other hand, no Minister of any Protestant Communion, however great his attainments, or holy his life, can under any circumstances be admitted to the Ministry of the Episcopal Church, and allowed to celebrate the Holy Communion, without ordination to the Priesthood, at the hands of a Bishop. The doctrine of the Priesthood in the Episcopal Church is not, as is sometimes supposed by those not familiar with her teachings, a mere opinion or view held only by the "High Church party". It is a matter of the Church's own most distinct and essential teaching, as appears in her authoritative formularies. If any member of the Episcopal Church, clergyman or layman, does not believe in the office of the Priesthood, and that

Episcopal ordination is necessary for the exercise of the functions of the Priesthood, he in so far fails to accept the teaching and to represent the position of his own Communion. Whatever his individual views may be, he must, in his official acts, conform and give assent to this doctrine. This doctrine of the Priesthood and the Sacraments stands for, and is the outward expression of, that which is most fundamental of all things in the Christian Religion. It stands for the true "givenness" of all that comes to us in Christ, for the present operation of Divine grace on the souls of men, for the reality of the supernatural. History seems to us to show that this doctrine is the great safeguard of the faith. We see that where men have held to this belief, they hold fast to the certainty of God's revelation contained in the Catholic Creeds, and believe firmly in the crucial facts of the Virgin Birth and the Bodily Resurrection of Our Lord. In her doctrine of the Church and the Priesthood, the Anglican Communion aligns herself with Catholic Christendom, and it is this fact which makes it impossible for the Episcopal Church, without surrender of fundamental principle, to identify herself with the present movement for Protestant Federation in America or to enter into United Protestant work in the Mission fields or elsewhere. The Episcopal Church should feel, and does feel, warm sympathy with these movements. She should join in thanksgiving for them as most hopeful expressions of a growing desire for reunion, and as important steps in this direction. She ought in every right way to manifest her sympathy with these efforts, and to show that she wishes them Godspeed, but she can not officially participate in, and commit herself to, them without being untrue to the opportunity that God seems to have given her in relation to the Christian world as a whole, and denial of her own essential faith.

It is a sign of growth in the spirit which must prepare the way for reunion that, with singular breadth of view,

some of the most trusted Protestant leaders show a real and sympathetic understanding of the position of the Episcopal Church. There could hardly be a better example of this than that given by the Reverend Arthur Judson Brown, Secretary of the Presbyterian Board of Foreign Missions, in his recent volume, in which after expressing his hearty agreement with Bishop Montgomery that we do not want to reduce our convictions to "a least common denominator of Christianity", he adds:

> "Meantime, those of us who are not Anglicans should do that justice to their principles which we expect them to do to ours. The Anglicans have a noble vision of the union of the people of God, a union which is to include all the historic branches of the Christian Church—Protestant, Roman and Greek. For that union they ardently hope and earnestly pray. . . . They seem unyielding to Non-Conformists because they feel that any impairment of their position to suit a particular communion on one side would jeopardize to that extent the ultimate acceptability of their position to communions on the other side, and that they have no alternative but to adhere to their Church through good and evil report, confident that in time the scattered and separate groups of Christians will find in that Church either their common point of rally and reunion or a principle of historic continuity that will be an indispensable contribution to the Church of the future. . . . And while we may not share the conviction of many Anglicans that it will come on the basis of their Church, we are not prepared to hold aloof from them because they adhere with unflinching fidelity to the Church which they reverently believe is called of God to be the unifying principle of a divided Christendom. Let us rather work with them wherever we can, honouring their loyalty to their faith as we expect them to honour ours, and joyfully believing that the Spirit of God will in His own way and time bring us all to the desired haven of Christian fellowship."[1]

Such words are a happy illustration of the comprehensive spirit in which the questions relating to unity are now being considered.

Anglicans, however, are far from holding that Christian reunion can come only "on the basis of their Church". They do not hold or feel that their own Communion rises to the full ideal of Catholicity. The Episcopal Church does not desire to see all Christians made into "Protestant Episcopalians". What the Anglican Communion desires

[1] *Unity and Missions*, pages 223, 224.

and prays for is that in God's own way she may, together with all Communions, be lifted up into a realization and manifestation of the unity that is in Christ, fuller, holier, more Catholic, than is now seen in any Communion in the world. And to this end the Episcopal Church believes that it is her duty, and that of all other Communions likewise to hold in faithful trust those principles which they believe to be essential and which they regard as vital to Christianity.

Christians of all names should unite, as fully as possible, in practical and social work. This involves no compromise of principle or conviction. If the movement for Protestant Federation related only to forms of civic and social endeavour, it would present no difficulty. But its work is not limited to this sphere. Its prospectus states clearly and specifically that its purpose includes union in religious work.

Its aim is to combine the Protestant Churches and to bring about as far as this is possible a "United Protestantism".

Quite naturally, therefore, its platform embodies and bases itself upon the Protestant principle as to the Church and the Ministry. To this principle it is explicitly and definitely committed. The doctrine of "the essential oneness of the Christian Churches of America", upon which the Federation movement is founded, can not possibly be reconciled with what the Episcopal Church believes to be the teaching of the New Testament, and of our Lord Himself, in regard to His Church.

From this doctrine of the essential oneness of all "the Churches", upon which the Federation platform is built, it follows indisputably, just as the Protestant Communions which are united in the movement believe, that an Episcopally ordained Ministry is unessential, and that the faith of the ancient, undivided Church with regard to the priesthood is a mistake, and official acceptance of the platform signifies endorsement of this position.

The facts here set forth involve no criticism of the platform as such, nor do they furnish any argument against the Federation of Protestant Communions. For them the platform calls for no sacrifice of principle. But it is clear that no Communion which holds the ancient doctrine of the Ministry and Sacraments can, without surrender of faith, commit itself to the Federation Movement.

The Episcopal Church can not rightly be expected to enter into Federated union in religious work on a platform which presupposes and assumes that the doctrine which she holds as to the Church, the Priesthood and the Sacraments is not only unessential but untrue.

There are many ways in which Catholics, Protestants, Jews and all others can unite and co-operate to their own benefit, and to the great advantage of the community. But plainly they can not, without sacrifice of conviction, unite in the ministration and propagation of the Christian religion.

Before there can be union in religious work, there must be agreement as to the essentials of faith. Without this an outward reunion would not be a manifestation of unity. It would probably be a manifestation of the view that belief is of no importance, and of an absence of any definite faith whatever.

It is natural however that the Protestant Communions should form Federations and enter into united religious work. In many cases the differences between these Communions are recognized by themselves to be only of minor importance. There seems to be every reason why Communions which are practically indistinguishable should so unite. For the Protestant Communions Federation may prove, and we pray that it will prove, to be a great gain. But for the Episcopal Church, under present conditions, and until much further progress towards a true unity shall have been achieved, it would be something far more serious than a mistake.

If the Episcopal Church were to adopt the principle on which Federation in this country is based, and on which

union of religious work in the Mission fields is proposed, she would cut herself off from the fellowship of the Anglican Communion, she would destroy all prospect of her nearer approach to the rest of the Catholic world, she would cast away the hope that God has given her of helping to mediate between, and draw nearer together, the great separated parts of Christendom, Orthodox, Catholic and Protestant, and she would surrender that which she believes that she has received from Jesus Christ in trust not only for herself but for her Protestant brethren, which she believes that they will one day rejoice to claim as their own, and which many of the wisest and most devout among them today would grieve to see her depart from, or treat lightly.

The principle which must govern all our actions in regard to co-operation and union with others in religious work was set forth by the Bishops of the Anglican Communion assembled at the last Lambeth Conference in the following carefully drawn resolution:

"This Conference reaffirms the resolution of the Conference of 1897 that 'Every opportunity should be taken to emphasize the Divine purpose of visible unity amongst Christians as a fact of revelation'. It desires further to affirm that in all partial projects for reunion and inter-communion the final attainment of the Divine purpose should be kept in view as our object; and that care should be taken to do what will advance the reunion of the whole of Christendom, and to abstain from doing anything that will retard or prevent it."

And the Archbishop of Canterbury, in his recent statement with reference to the Kikuyu controversy, a statement the great moderation of which no one has questioned, says:

"If for the sake of securing what looks like a gain in the direction of Church Unity, or of attaining in the Mission field a nearer prospect of a Church in the true sense 'native' we were to treat the question of a threefold ministry as trifling or negligible, it is obvious that we might do irreparable ill to the future life of the Church of Christ in that region of the earth."

Looking at the matter only from the practical point of view, any action on the part of the Anglican Communion

or of the Episcopal Church which would tend to impair or obscure its historic position as to the Ministry and Sacraments would show a short-sightedness, and a lack of statesmanlike vision strange indeed. It could be explained only on the assumption that we had come to believe in nothing more than a United Protestantism and had no real hope or desire for the reunion of Christendom.

The belief as to the Church and the Ministry which the Episcopal Church holds is that which was held by the whole Christian world for fifteen centuries and which is held by three-fourths of the whole Christian world today. Clearly it would be as mistaken in policy, as it would be wrong in principle, for the Episcopal Church in this matter of her fundamental belief to abandon the position of the majority in order to align herself with the minority, and that a very greatly divided minority.

Whatever the difficulties and obstacles, whether the prospect is encouraging or discouraging, the ideal of the Episcopal Church must for ever be the ultimate reunion of all Christendom.

In all her prayers and plans and efforts, she must have this ideal ever in view. All that she undertakes must be in conformity with this final aim. She can not even entertain the suggestion that because such reunion seems far off she may cease to believe in it and strive for it.

She must welcome any and every step which makes truly in this direction but she must try every proposed measure by the touchstone of this her abiding faith and hope.

She can do nothing for the sake of a seeming temporary gain which would weaken her central position, or lessen her power to help towards the realization of this ultimate ideal, because she believes that this, and this alone, is in accordance with the prayer and the purpose of the Church's Divine Head.

The Episcopal Church has placed herself officially on record through her General Convention, as believing that

it will be a true step forward if Christians can be brought to consider together fully and frankly, but in the spirit of love and forbearance, the things as to which they are not agreed. With the conviction that the true approach towards reunion is to be made not by ignoring or minimizing real differences but by honest effort, with the help of God's grace, to face and deal with them and, believing that "the time has now arrived when representatives of the whole family of Christ, led by the Holy Spirit, may be willing to come together for the consideration of questions of Faith and Order", she has ventured to suggest the calling of a World Conference and to ask that all Christian Communions throughout the world, which confess Our Lord Jesus Christ as God and Saviour, will unite in arranging for and conducting such a Conference.

To some this method may seem a slow one. But in efforts towards Christian reunion there can be no place for haste or impatience. God alone is able to bring this to pass and He awaits our readiness to yield ourselves to His Will and to the guidance of His Spirit. The fact that this method is slow is perhaps one of its chief recommendations. We must not try to run ahead of grace. And the way of Conference would seem to be the only one that is now open to us. How else, so far as we can see, can there be advance towards deeper mutual understanding and closer agreement except through consideration and brotherly discussion of the matters that divide us.

We are sometimes asked what the Episcopal Church is prepared to concede, as though this were a necessary preliminary to Conference. The answer is that no Communion is asked to say whether it will concede anything. All are asked simply to confer. The purpose of meeting in this way is to understand more fully the position of those from whom we differ, to enter more clearly into what others think, what their convictions are, on what grounds they hold them and why they feel them to be of vital importance. In a Conference men come to-

gether not to argue but to explain, and if possible to make more clear their positions to each other.

If concessions are to be made by any, these would naturally come after the gathering, as a result of it, and not before it. It has in fact been agreed by all from the beginning that in connection with the World Conference there should be no discussion of points of difference until the gathering itself meets.

We hope that when the time comes, the Episcopal Church will be found ready, for the sake of reunion, to concede everything that can rightly be conceded. But she can not concede anything believed by her to be a matter of principle or an essential part of God's revelation of Truth, nor would she desire to see any other Communion do so. We should no more think it right that others should do this than that we should do it ourselves.

Concession, whether by individuals or by Communions, is morally justifiable only in matters which are seen to be non-essential. No one has the right to sacrifice a real conviction for the sake of fuller intercourse or closer fellowship.

The true manifestation of unity can not be brought about by concession, on either hand, of that which is believed to be essential. The way toward reunion must be prepared by fuller faith, truer sympathy, and growth in the knowledge and spirit of Christ our Lord. Reunion in Him will come not by surrender of the truth, or of that which is believed to be such, but by deeper entrance into the truth, under the guidance of God's spirit, so that all may progress toward a common mind.

In this growth of sympathy and understanding direct personal contact, human fellowship, is a most important factor, and it is the opportunity which it provides for such contact, through the years of preparation as well as at the gathering itself, which seems to constitute one great value of the method of Conference.

The Conference is suggested in the hope and belief that truer understanding of divergent views may lessen some of the difficulties and remove others entirely. It is believed that, at least in some cases, candid and loving consideration will show that those who seemed furthest away from us in belief are nearer than we thought, that they are emphasizing a part of the truth of which we had in some measure lost sight, or a principle which we need more to emphasize. We do not pretend to know how the different principles can be reconciled. But we do know that God is able to do that which is far beyond our power or knowledge, and we believe that such an effort as this is according to His Will.

It is definitely provided that no Communion can be in any way compromised by the presence of its representatives at the Conference. It is to have no legislative powers of any sort. It is not the business of the Conference to arrange terms or to formulate definite plans of reunion between separated Communions. Any such action could be undertaken only by the Communions themselves. The aim of the Conference would be to inspire and prepare the way for action. It is to be only a Conference on Faith and Order looking towards Christian reunion, and in its carefully restricted scope perhaps lies its hope of service. Certainly no principles can be impaired or compromised by participation in a Conference at which each Communion, through its own chosen representatives, shall have full opportunity, without limitation and with the assurance of patient and sympathetic hearing, to present to all who are assembled the truth which it holds and believes.

The fact that such a Conference, to include the whole Christian world, Orthodox, Catholic and Protestant, can be seriously considered is in itself epoch marking and it shows that we are progressing on the road towards reunion. It is the first time since the separations of the sixteenth century that there has been such a proposal to bring together Christians from all Communions, with the

thought of reunion in their hearts and prayers, on the basis of belief in the Godhead of their Common Saviour. It is at least encouraging that after centuries of estrangement and division Christian men should now be planning to come together for face to face consideration of the things which have separated them, not to sacrifice conviction, but to speak the truth faithfully to each other in love with the hope of finding the way to closer fellowship.

Who shall measure the moral and spiritual influence of such a gathering, its effect upon the minds, the imagination and the faith of men, or the results that may flow from it?

The difficulties in the way of bringing about a World Conference of this character are manifest, but the progress so far made has been greater than the most sanguine would have dared to anticipate five years ago when the proposal was made. Already more than fifty Religious Communions in all parts of the world, including the Anglican Communion in its various branches, have identified themselves with the undertaking, and have appointed Commissions or Committees to represent them.

Assurances of support for the movement have been received from high dignitaries of the Eastern Churches and the matter is under favourable discussion in the Holy Orthodox Church of Russia. The proposal has also received the warm commendation of many eminent dignitaries of the Roman Catholic Church, and, through the Papal Secretary, Cardinal Gasparri, His Holiness, Pope Benedict XV has recently expressed his personal interest in it with the assurance of his prayers for the right guidance of the undertaking and for its prosperous issue.

At the precise moment when the present war broke out, a deputation was about to start from this country to lay the matter formally before the authorities of the Churches in Europe and the East. This mission has only been deferred, and it is to be carried into effect just as soon as the conditions admit of it.

It seemed at first as though the breaking out of the war were an almost fatal blow to the hopes for the World Conference. In God's ordering it may prove to have been far otherwise. As a result of the fearful experience through which the world is passing men may be more ready to listen to suggestions of this nature. Out of the great struggle may come forces making powerfully for closer union and concord. With all its horrors the war seems to be bringing the world into closer relation. It is opening doors, casting down barriers and drawing the ends of the earth together. On the whole we may believe that it is making towards world-brotherhood. It has compelled men to see more clearly than ever the weakness and ineffectiveness of a Christianity disunited, and divided against itself. It is suggesting to many the relation of a United Christendom to the hope of a lasting world peace. It is bringing men to see that the only real hope of peace for the world is in the religion of Our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ. May not one result of the war be an opportunity without precedent in history for some such effort, some such coming together of the Christian forces, as the World Conference movement proposes?

And may not all Christians of whatever name be rightly asked to pray, at their Masses and at their Prayer Meetings, for God's guidance and blessing for this effort which has as its only object the drawing into closer contact and understanding of all who believe in and love the Lord Jesus Christ, and the bringing somewhat nearer of that unity for which He Himself prayed, and still prays, the need of which was never so tragically manifest as it is now?

PREPAREDNESS– OUR CHRISTIAN DUTY

AN ADDRESS BY

Rev. WILLIAM T. MANNING, D. D.

Rector of Trinity Parish, New York City Trustee of Columbia University

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DELIVERED AT CONFERENCE OF MAYORS AND MAYORS' COMMITTEES ON NATIONAL DEFENSE, HELD IN ST. LOUIS, MISSOURI, ON MARCH FOURTH, 1916, AT WHICH 250 CITIES OF THE UNITED STATES WERE REPRESENTED

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A MINISTER of religion is supposed to be a man of peace. I am a man of peace and therefore I have thought it worth while to speak in favor of preparedness.

We realize today as never before the madness, the misery, the wickedness of war.

We all want to see everything done that can be done to lessen the likelihood of war and to eliminate its causes. No one in this country wants war. But we have seen in these past months that war may be forced upon those who do not want it. And we want preparedness in order that we may be able to preserve and command peace. This nation has not, and will never have, any thought of aggression against others. We do not want one inch of the territory, nor one dollar of the wealth, of any other people.

We do not want preparedness *for* war, we want preparedness *against* war. And I am here to speak of preparedness from the Christian standpoint.

1. Fearful as war is it is not the worst thing that can befall a nation. Evil as it is, there are still worse evils. Bodily comfort, physical safety, material prosperity, are not the only or the supreme ends of life.

Every true American would rather see this land involved in war than see her flag dishonored, or her name stained with disgrace. We would rather see America take up the sword than see her bow down in fear before the infamous doctrine that might makes right.

We would rather face war if we must do so than prove false to those principles of justice, freedom and humanity, for which our fathers had the manhood to fight, and which are the foundations upon which our life is built.

Jesus Christ does not stand for peace at any price. He stands for righteousness at any cost. And He proved this by going to His death on the Cross.

2. Let us not allow any one to imagine that preparedness means militarism.

There is no reason to fear that the spirit of militarism will ever take possession of a democracy. The militaristic spirit thrives only under autocracy.

Switzerland, Australia, New Zealand have conscription, and not one of them is militaristic. The danger of a democracy is not that it may be carried into militarism, but that through its hatred of war it may be found unprepared to protect itself against militaristic aggression. And this is the actual situation of our country at the present time.

3. There are those who believe and teach that any use of military force is wrong and un-Christian. This teaching is not only mistaken, it is harmful to the life of our country. Under present conditions in this world it is our duty to use force if need be to protect the weak, to curb the lawless, and to restrain the brutal. Preparedness against lawless aggression and invasion is our plain Christian duty.

If we want peace we must be willing to take proper measures to preserve peace. The New Testament does not teach that God will do for us what He has given us the power and the means to do for ourselves. God can work

miracles. But the Christian religion does not teach that God will work miracles to save us from the consequences of our own deliberate slothfulness and folly. The Lord helps those who help themselves. The city that will not clean its streets has no right to expect to be saved from epidemic. The people who will not go to the primaries to vote will not be saved by prayer from political exploitation and misgovernment. The man who neglects his business will not be saved from the bankruptcy court by supernatural intervention. And the nation which in the midst of a world at war fails to take adequate measures for its own defense will be likely to pray in vain when the enemy is at the gate.

I know the use that is made of the text about turning the other cheek. But I ask those who quote this text whether they interpret with equal literalness the text "Take no thought for the morrow"? It is a dangerous thing to rely on isolated passages out of any document. The New Testament no more teaches unpreparedness by one of these texts than it teaches improvidence by the other. Unpreparedness is not trusting in Providence. It is tempting Providence.

The Christian religion teaches gentleness and forbearance, but it also teaches courage and strength. I think we often misrepresent it by dwelling only on the more feminine side of its teaching, and almost ignoring the other side. The God in Whom we believe is a God of love, but He is also a God of justice and of might. And while our Lord is truly pictured to us as the Lamb, we are apt to forget that He is pictured to us also as the Lion of the tribe of Judah, the Leader under Whose banner we are to fight against all that is unjust and wrong and evil in this world.

4. Last I want to say that distinctly, from the standpoint of our highest moral and civic welfare, I believe in universal military training for the men of our country, according to the Swiss system. I believe in such training for its military value, but I believe in it also for its moral and spiritual value.

It will help to make our people realize that citizenship demands service. It stands for the fact that service to the country is not a voluntary thing which we may give or withhold as we see fit, but that each one of us owes service to the state. It will train us to think a little less of what the country owes to us, and a little more of what we owe to the country. It will serve, as nothing else could, to unify and weld together into one splendid whole of American life, the different elements of our heterogeneous population. It will develop and bring out just those traits of discipline, steadiness, respect for authority and law which, whatever our other excellences may be, are not the strong points in our national character. If our young men are taught to stand straight and walk straight, it will help them to think straight and to live straight. And therefore, as one whose calling pledges him to desire only that which is for the highest welfare of our young men, I believe in this system of military training. I believe in it because it is thoroughly democratic; it puts all on one common footing; because it will be a great nation-wide training school in character; because it will develop patriotism in us; because it will make any invasion of our country forever unlikely, and because it will tend to make our young men better Americans, better citizens and better Christians.—*Trinity Parish Record.*

The Present Crisis in Our Nation's Life

A SERMON

Preached in St. Paul's Chapel, Trinity Parish, New York

BY THE RECTOR

William Thomas Manning, S. T. D.

at the celebration
of the 150th Anniversary
of the opening of St. Paul's Chapel
on Monday, October 30th, 1916

Published by Request

THE PRESENT CRISIS IN OUR NATION'S LIFE.

What shall it profit a man if he shall gain the whole world and lose his own soul? St. Mark 8:36.

We are gathered here to commemorate the opening of this Chapel for public worship, which took place ten years before the signing of the Declaration of Independence, on October 30, 1766, one hundred and fifty years ago to-day. The occasion is one which stirs our hearts both as Americans and as Churchmen.

This service speaks to us of the conspicuous part played by members of the Episcopal Church, George Washington among them, in laying the foundations of this Republic.

It reminds us of the place which the parish of Trinity has held from the beginning, and still holds, in the life of this community, maintaining among its nine Churches this Chapel of St. Paul, with Trinity, the Mother Church, close by, two of the chief glories of New York, standing on their ancient sites, with their historic graveyards about them, where lie not a few of our country's most honored dead.

It was not by accident, but by Providential ordering that these two Churches were placed where they now stand. In an age of change they speak daily to countless thousands of that which does not, and cannot, change, the Gospel of Jesus Christ, to Whom we pray, Whom we worship and adore, in Whom we put our trust, because He is God Himself. In an age when the power of money seems to know no limits, men see here daily before their eyes two sacred enclosures which all the money in the United States cannot purchase, and which business cannot crowd out, because they are held for higher and holier uses.

And this anniversary service calls up before our minds a century and a half of the City's progress, and of our life and growth as a nation.

When this Chapel was built New York was a town of less than twenty thousand people. The building of St. Paul's Chapel was regarded as a wild and unwarrantable venture. We read that the good burghers of that day "scrupled not to comment with just severity on the folly of that visionary set of men, the Vestry of Trinity Church, who had put so large and ornate a building in a place so remote and sequestered, so difficult of access, and to which the population could never extend." In a document published in 1880, it is recorded that "the late Robert Morris, of Fordham, remembered when a lad walking into the country, from Queen (now Pearl) Street, to see St. Paul's Chapel." King's College, erected ten years earlier, in 1756, which stood a little to the north and west of this spot, was described by a visitor from England as "pleasantly situated near the city of New York, on the bank of Hudson's River." In 1776, the first Trinity Church was destroyed by fire. For twelve years St. Paul's was used as the Parish Church, and to this building, in which we are now assembled, George Washington came, on April 30th, 1789, in accordance with a resolution adopted by Congress, for the religious service which completed the ceremonies of his inauguration as President, the service being conducted by the Chaplain of the Senate, the Right Reverend Samuel Provoost, Bishop of New York, and Rector of Trinity Church.

Here, on that memorable day, our first President came and knelt, together with the Vice-President, the members of both Houses of Congress, and all who attended the inauguration ceremony; and hanging on this pulpit as I speak, loaned to us for this service by the Marine Society of New York, is a banner which was carried before him in the procession.

You are familiar with the many historical facts and associations which make this building a national shrine, a sacred monument of our life as a people, and I need not dwell longer upon these. Since that day when Washington and his company entered these doors, there have been changes far outstripping all their powers of vision. Little could those who then assembled at St. Paul's imagine that its 150th anniversary would see uncounted

throngs passing this building in the "Elevated" on its one side and in the "Subway" on the other, the streets crowded with motor vehicles, men flying and fighting in the air, messages flashed direct from our shores to the countries of Europe, and vessels of war able to make invisible passage to our coasts, travelling far beneath the surface of the seas.

Our wealth, our numbers, our vast extent of territory, are all serving to increase the problems which we, of this day, have to face, and our unparalleled mixture of races, whatever its possibilities for the future, constitutes a present danger, the reality of which we have recently, and reluctantly, been compelled to realize.

This nation is not one people as it was when Washington sat in that pew yonder. We are not one in birth or tradition, or even in speech. In the block in which I live in this city, the newspapers sold along the street are none of them in the English tongue.

We depend for our unity upon the highest bond of all, the bond of a great and common ideal, the American ideal of Democracy, Equality, Justice and Freedom. Far more than in the case of any other nation our life is based on loyalty to our national ideal. Upon this our strength and unity are staked. Whatever hurts or weakens this, strikes at our very life as a people.

And we are living at an hour in the world's history when the souls of nations, our own among the others, are being tested and tried as they have never been tried before. These two years past have been years of moral and spiritual opportunity without precedent. In this day of trial the nations of the earth, our own among them, have been, and are, showing their real attitude towards the greatest issues for which men can live or die. By her course in the face of this situation our country is being judged. This is a time of crisis in our national life, and there are certain things which I feel bound to say on this occasion, basing them on the text which I have chosen, which, without any strain upon the meaning of the words, may be rendered "What shall it profit a nation if it shall gain the whole world and lose its own soul?"

1. As I look back over these two fateful years, viewing them not at all from the political standpoint, but simply as an American citizen who loves his country, and reverences her ideals, I cannot feel that we have risen to the measure of our opportunity and of our just responsibility. Doubtless a number of reasons for this may be adduced. Into these I do not go. That would not be within my province here. This matter far transcends all merely political considerations. It is a question of our spiritual life as a people. The pulpit may speak on such a question as this with a detachment which might not belong to the utterances of those engaged in the field of commerce or of politics. I simply declare what I believe to be the fact, that we have fallen short of that which, in the light of our ideal, was rightly to be expected of us as the greatest of the neutral nations. In this hour of the world's emergency, we have, perhaps, been neutral, but we have not been great.

Other nations have suffered untold sorrows and losses and are showing marvellous spiritual development. We have prospered materially, but I fear we have suffered grave spiritual losses. It is right that we should be neutral, so far as this is consistent with loyalty to our principles and our ideals. But this does not mean that we are to have no convictions upon such issues as those at stake in this war, and that we are to feel little concern in a life and death struggle for those eternal principles of right upon which our own life as a nation depends. A neutrality which involved this would be only a name for cold and callous selfishness. The Statue of Liberty stands by our shores with uplifted torch; but in this hour when law and liberty have been threatened as never before, can we say that it has been our one concern to stand, at all cost, for the fundamental rights of mankind, or are we as a people disposed to ask only that our own peace shall not be disturbed? It has not in the past been the way of America to sit indifferent to the struggle for justice and freedom anywhere. Our indifference to the principles at stake in this world crisis, our failure as a people to be moved by deep moral indignation at some of the deeds which have been committed, may well

cause grave misgiving to those who love this land. For a nation, as for an individual, there are situations in which to sit in silence, to refrain from bearing witness, or to stop short of using every means to make that witness effective, means grievous hurt and peril to the soul.

2. I fear that partly as a result of our coldness to the great issues involved in this world struggle, we have suffered some real weakening and loss of our national spirit. I fear that there is to-day among us a perceptible lowering of our national tone and lessening of our moral power.

We need a great reawakening of the spirit of true Americanism, and a great reconsecration to our national ideal. There are influences at work to-day which are operating definitely to weaken the spirit of patriotism. The word Pacifism has come much into vogue in recent time. If by Pacifism is meant only a desire in every way possible to remove the causes, and lessen the likelihood, of war then we are all of us in sympathy with it. In this sense our most earnest Pacifists are the officers of the United States Army and Navy, who know what war means, and who would be the first to give their lives if war came.

But if by Pacifism is meant the teaching that the use of force is never justifiable, then, however well meant, it is mistaken, and it is hurtful to the life of our country. And the Pacifism which takes the position that because war is evil therefore all who engage in war, whether for offense or defense, are equally blameworthy, and to be condemned, is not only unreasonable, it is inexcusably unjust.

The effort to identify the Christian Religion with Ultra-Pacifism is a misapprehension of the truth and an injury to religion. The Christian Religion no more enjoins us to leave our shores unprotected against some brutal but efficient invader, than it enjoins us to leave our homes unprotected against murderers and thieves. If the Christian Religion meant that we are not to protect those dependent upon us, and to make every effort to do this effectively, then I say that normal men everywhere would reject the Christian Religion, and they would be justified in doing so.

But the Christian Religion holds up no such mistaken ideal. The Christian Religion is true to all the facts of life. Our Lord Jesus Christ does not stand for peace at any price, but for righteousness and truth, first, and at all cost.

No one in this country wants war. As never before we see its cruelty and its horror. By every means that may be we want to see its likelihood lessened and its causes eliminated. But evil as war is there are still deeper evils. Bodily comfort, physical safety, material prosperity are not the greatest things in life. War may hurt and kill the body. There are things that hurt and kill the soul. Every true American would rather see this land face war than see her flag lowered in dishonor, or her name touched with disgrace. Every true American would rather see this land involved in war than see her false to those principles of right, of freedom, and humanity upon which our life is built, and upon which the hope of the world depends.

3. We need in every part of our land, and among all classes of our people, a great reawakening of our sense of the responsibility which rests on us as citizens, of the duty that we owe to our country, and of the service that we owe to the State. In every true citizen of a republic there must be something of the soldier spirit, the spirit of self-sacrifice, of devotion to duty, of willingness to give time and strength and, if occasion require, life itself, in the service of his land. This spirit is of our very soul as a nation, but it seems to be less strong among us than it once was. It does not seem to burn in the hearts of our people as it once did. There are many of us whose thought seems to be far more of what our country owes to us, than of what we owe to our country.

And on this notable anniversary, in the presence of the representatives of our government, speaking with all possible care and deliberation, I wish to say that, not only from the standpoint of a citizen, but from the standpoint of a Minister of Religion, whose duty it is to advocate only that which is for the highest moral and spiritual good of our people, I believe there is nothing

that would be of such great practical benefit to us as Universal Military Training for the men of our land. The assertion that this would lead us into Militarism need not be seriously considered. This assertion is made by those who are opposed not only to Militarism, but to any adequate measures for Military preparedness. The danger of a democracy is not that it may be carried into Militarism, but that it may be found unprepared to defend itself against militaristic aggression.

I advocate Universal Training because of its military effectiveness. It will make our land practically secure against invasion.

I advocate it because it is the only Military system that is truly democratic. It puts all on one common footing. Its effect is a people trained and prepared for their own defense.

I advocate it because it will weld our nation together and help to make of our many races one united people.

I advocate it because of its moral and spiritual value. It will give us needed discipline. It will develop in us those high qualities of orderliness and system, of respect for authority, of obedience to law, which are not the strongest points in our national character. It will tend to make our young men better Americans, better Citizens, and better Christians.

4. Last, and more than all else, because it underlies all these other things and is the foundation and source of them all, we need among our people a great renewal of the spirit of true religion. Religion is the only firm foundation for national life. This is true of the life of any nation. It is true above all in the highest form of national life, a Democracy, such as our own. Our courts, our laws, all our institutions, rest upon public sentiment, upon the right moral principle of the people. And every thinking man knows that the only real basis for right moral action is religion. Democracy rests upon the assumption that the people are to be ruled and guided by God's Will. A Democracy, if it is to endure, must be in fact a Theocracy. Then, and then only, will it be true that the voice of the people is the voice of God.

However excellent his services may be in other ways, no man or woman is doing his true part as a citizen of this republic, unless he is bearing open witness to his faith in God, and contributing his personal share towards the religious life of the nation.

It was George Washington who said: "Reason and experience both forbid us to expect that national morality can prevail in exclusion of religious principle"....."To the distinguished character of Patriot it should be our highest glory to add the more distinguished character of Christian."

May we, as true men, do each one his personal part towards the strengthening of religion among our people, and may there be in our land, at this tremendous moment in the world's history, a great flaming forth of that spirit of true Americanism which shall make the name of our country respected by all, which demands, not first that America shall be commercially prosperous, not first that America shall be kept out of trouble, but first, and far above all else, that America shall do right, that America shall bear her fearless witness, that America shall do her true, brave part in the world, let consequences be what they will. "What shall it profit a nation if it shall gain the whole world and lose its own soul?"

"The Enslavement of Belgians"

A PROTEST

Never land long lease of empire won
Whose sons sate silent when base deeds were done.
—Lowell.

MASS MEETING
CARNEGIE HALL, N. Y.
FRIDAY EVENING, DECEMBER 15, 1916

The meeting was held in response to the following advertisement in the daily press:

A Mass Meeting

WILL BE HELD IN

CARNEGIE HALL

On Friday Evening, December 15th
AT 8.30 O'CLOCK

To Protest Against the Crimes of the Imperial German Government in Its Treatment of the Belgian People

THE PROGRAMME FOR THE MEETING IS:

1. THE STAR SPANGLED BANNER
2. ADDRESS by the CHAIRMAN
   The Rev. Dr. W. T. Manning
3. ADDRESS James M. Beck
4. THE BELGIAN NATIONAL ANTHEM "The Brabançonne"
5. ADDRESS Alton B. Parker
6. ADDRESS Elihu Root
7. RESOLUTIONS
8. AMERICA

The Last Cable from the Belgian Government Reads as follows:

"This slavery is being carried out in the utmost barbarity and brutality and several thousand of the more reluctant have been put in prison on starvation rations in order to induce them to sign 'free' contracts."

Admission by tickets which can be procurred at Putnam's bookstore, from Joseph Bucklin Bishop, 59 Wall Street, and at the Hall. The meeting will commence at 8.30. Doors will be opened at 7 o'clock.

ADDRESS OF THE CHAIRMAN

Rev. William T. Manning, D. D., Rector, Trinity Church, New York, Chairman.

The Chairman: This meeting has been called to express openly and publicly the indignation and abhorrence which, we feel as American citizens, against deeds committed in Belgium, France and Poland (applause), such as were supposed to have become extinct among civilized peoples (applause), and have not been known in the world since the beginning of the Christian era. (Applause.)

A similar meeting has already been held in Boston, and we hope that others will be held in every City, great and small, throughout the land. (Great applause.)

That martyred nation which, more than any other, has sacrified itself for the sake of law and right and honor (applause), is appealing, in its dire distress, to all the world, and to the neutral nations in particular. This meeting is in answer to that appeal. (Applause.) We wish to express our unmeasured sympathy with the wronged and outraged people of Belgium. (Applause.)

We have not come here to speak the language of hate. We do not condemn indiscriminately the whole German people. We know that they have been misinformed, misled and cruelly betrayed by those in whom they have too blindly trusted. We believe that there are many Germans who condemn these infamous acts as strongly as any of us do. (Applause.) We hope yet to see them free themselves from the curse of Prussian Militarism (great applause) and from the power of autocratic and unscrupulous leaders who have robbed Germany of her high place among the nations, and led her into crimes which have shocked and dismayed the world. But we are here to say that as American citizens, and as true men and women, we denounce, and abhor, and utterly condemn such acts as the

invasion of Belgium, the sinking of the *Lusitania,* still unatoned and unapologized for, and now this climax of atrocity, this dragging into wholesale slavery of men who are defenceless and unoffending non-combatants. (Great applause.)

Only recently we learned that thousands of young women in Northern France had been torn from their homes, and from their despairing friends, and taken no man knew whither. The situation of those helpless girls, in a foreign land filled with hostile soldiery is indeed terrible to think of.

Now, in defiance of all law, human and divine, the brave people of a conquered country are seized by the hundreds of thousands, packed like beasts into cattle cars and carried away to be the slaves of their captors.

We know the excuse that is offered for this unspeakable crime. We are told that this is done in order to provide for the unemployed and that it is "a humanitarian measure." We fling back that monstrous excuse into the teeth of those who make it. (Great applause.) It is an insult to our intelligence, a lie on its face, and a mockery of those who are being tortured and oppressed. (Applause.)

In violation of her most solemn and binding word, Germany has invaded the country of these people, desolated their homes, robbed them of their machinery, their tools, their means of subsistence, and now when they ought at least to be her charges and her wards she not only refuses to provide for them but drags them into exile to be her slaves. God save us and the world from such "humanitarian measures" as these! (Great applause.)

That which is forced on these people is in fact worse than slavery. It is slavery plus treason to their own kindred, their own honour and their own land. They are compelled to give their aid towards the destruction of their own people.

Shall we as a nation sit silent, or utter ourselves only in words of formal disapproval, against wrong like this?

(Cries of "No, no!".)

In the light of these things are we prepared to say, as a people, that the causes, merits and ultimate issue of this war are no concern of ours?

(Cries of "No, no! Wilson!")

Is there anyone in this land calling himself an American who is so unmoral, so unchristian, so shamefully neutral between good and evil that he is not concerned about these things?

(Cries of "Wilson, Wilson!" and Great Applause.)

The man who, knowing the undisputed facts, is neutral, or unmoved, with regard to Belgium, has suffered some insidious weakening both of his moral sense and of his manhood. (Great applause.)

We have been slow to believe that such things could be in this age. We were not affected in the beginning by any prejudice against Germany,—quite the reverse. But we have been compelled to see that everything that we hold sacred is involved in this conflict. (Applause.) We have been compelled to see that the real issues at stake are Democracy, Civilization and every truth for which Christianity stands! (Applause.) A world dominated by the ideas for which the German Government has stood during this war would be a world unfit to live in. It would be a world of brute force, of broken obligations, of ruthless aggression, of might utterly disregarding right. (Applause.)

If these standards are to be in control we shall be living in a world in which the Ten Commandments have been repealed and the Christian religion has been repudiated. Judged by its fruits, we now see that the doctrine of the will to power is the most damnable and inhuman doctrine ever promulgated on this earth. (Applause.) Does someone ask the cynical question "What good will it do for us to speak?" The question itself betrays a lack of the American spirit. What good will it do for us to speak out, regardless of consequences, against colossal injustice and unparalleled wrong? The voice of every patriot and prophet, of every martyr and confessor, of every founder of this Republic, brands that question as a false and shameful one. (Applause.)

I point you to one who has shown us what good it will do, who has shown us the sublime power of moral witness, who at the risk of his own life and liberty has lifted up a voice that has been heard in every land, and that has made his oppressors tremble, the great Cardinal Mercier (Great and continued applause, whole audience rising), whose name is an honour to

Belgium, an honour to the Roman Catholic Church, an honour to Christianity throughout the world, and an honour to mankind. (Applause.)

We send our greeting tonight from this hall to the great Cardinal, and not less to the other of the two most noble and heroic figures revealed by this war, Albert, King of the Belgians. (Great and long continued applause, whole audience standing.)

We are asked to speak out for the sake of Belgium. I say that it is time for us to speak out for the sake of our own honour, our own land, and our own souls! (Applause.)

And may the woes of Belgium, a land consecrated to peace and desiring only this, rouse us to realize the inconceivable folly, the wicked and criminal negligence of our present lack of any adequate provision for the defence of our shores and the protection of our homes. (Applause.)

Our President has said recently, in words which we all endorse: "So far as America is concerned and her influence is involved, justice and liberty should be extended to mankind everywhere."

(A Voice: "Why doesn't he do something?")

Let us act in accordance with the words. Now is the time, if ever, for us to use our influence for justice and liberty.

Our Government has entered a protest against these deeds in Belgium.

(A Voice: "Very mild protest, very official.")

We have said officially that they are "in contravention of all precedent and of those humane principles of international practice which have long been accepted and followed by civilized nations in their treatment of non-combatants in conquered territory". But our message does not seem to have had much effect. The answer to it is a heartless and paltering evasion. (Applause.) And day by day these merciless outrages upon men and women are going on.

Let the American people speak now in words which no one can mistake or misunderstand. (Applause.) Let us declare here tonight that we Americans are not so sodden with wealth, so fallen from our ideals, that we have ceased to care for things like these. Let our people all up and down this land call upon our Government to speak now, not in words mild and respect-

ful, for such deeds deserve no respect, but with a stern indignation, and a voice of moral condemnation which shall be heard through all the world. (Great applause.)

We owe it not only to Belgium and to ourselves, we owe it to Germany to tell her to her face, and unhesitatingly, how these misdeeds appear to us, and to the judgment of mankind. (Applause.) It may be that our voice fearlessly lifted up will help to bring her to herself and to make her see the enormity of these things.

Months ago our Government was forced to say officially to Germany that unless she abandoned her methods of submarine warfare "the Government of the United States would have no choice but to sever diplomatic relations with the German Empire altogether." Can our country, the land of justice and liberty, honourably continue in friendly diplomatic relations with a Government whose hands are red with deeds like these in Belgium? (Continued cries of "No, no!")

We denounce this hideous wrong as brutal, unlawful, uncivilized and unworthy of the men of any people! (Great applause.)

We call upon our Government to take a position in this matter which shall give to America her greatest and most priceless privilege, the privilege of moral leadership among the nations. (Applause.)

We call upon our President to speak, and we pledge to the President the unqualified support of all right thinking people of every party, creed, and race, if he will now demand in the name of America, in the name of Humanity, and in the Name of God, that these unheard of outrages against the brave people of Belgium shall immediately cease, and that those who have already been carried into slavery shall be set free, and allowed at least the poor comfort of returning to their broken families and to their devastated homes. (Great applause.)

LETTERS AND TELEGRAMS

THE CHAIRMAN: We are now to hear some letters and telegrams which have been sent expressing sympathy with the aims and purposes of this meeting. These will be read to us by one whom we are especially glad to have on this platform because of the honor in which he is held everywhere, because he has again and again spoken out like a man upon these questions, and because he conspicuously represents the sentiment and the feeling of the Southern people of our country,—Bishop Gailor of Tennessee! (Applause.)

BISHOP GAILOR: I was not asked to make an address, but I consider it a most high honor to be permitted to read these letters and telegrams, to testify by my presence on this occasion my sympathy with this movement and to say, as I have been asked to say, just one or two words as a preface to what I have to read.

The enlightened conscience of Europe in the thirteenth century, six hundred years ago, expressing itself in the poetry of Dante, put the cruel and the murderers into the seventh circle of the Inferno, but the cruel and murderers who had also broken their plighted word, it put into the pit of Hell. (Applause.)

The fundamental difference between the naked savage and the man we call civilized is that the civilized man has respect for law, and the supreme law of human civilization is the obligation of humaneness, sympathy and compassion.

We are assembled, therefore, tonight to appeal to Almighty God, who is not the God of any nation, or of any race, but the God of the spirits of all flesh, Who hath made of one blood all nations of men who dwell on the face of the whole earth, and to appeal to all men and all women in all lands who respect this supreme law of human civilization to protest in the name of religion, in the name of liberty, of justice, of humanity,

against the tragic, the horrible, the unexampled cruelties inflicted upon the Belgian people. (Applause.)

(Bishop Gailor then read the following letters and telegrams):

From Theodore Roosevelt

"Sagamore Hill, Dec. 5th, 1916.

Dear Mr. Whitridge:

I earnestly wish you all success in your meeting; and all Americans who are proud of the good name of their country and also have in them the capacity for general indignation on behalf of a foully wronged people, must join in hearty thanks to you and your associates.

Germany's campaign of methodically organized atrocities against the unhappy Belgian people has culminated in the transplanting of over a hundred thousand Belgian men into a condition of state-slavery in Germany where their labor is to be used to aid in the conquest of their fellow-countrymen. Similar transplantings of civilian non-combatants, both men and women, into slavery in Germany have already occurred in Northern France.

This action is paralleled by the action of the Assyrian conquerors of Syria and Palestine; but until the present war broke out it was supposed that such hideous infamies were effectively checked by the system of international law which has grown up under modern Christian civilization. But Germany has trampled under foot every device of international law for securing the protection of the weak and the unoffending. She has shown an utter disregard of all considerations of pity, mercy, humanity and international morality. She has counted upon the terror inspired by her ruthless brutality to protect her from retaliation or interference.

The outrages committed on our own people have been such as the United States has never before been forced to endure, and have included the repeated killing of our men, women and children. The sinking of the *Marina* and the *Cheming* the other day, with the attendant murder of six Americans, was but the most recent in an unbroken chain of injuries and insults, which by comparison make mere wrong to our property interests sink into absolute insignificance.

As long as neutrals keep silent, or speak apologetically, or take refuge in the futilities of the professional pacificists, there will be no cessation in these brutalities. But surely this last and crowning brutality, which amounts to the imposition of a

cruel form of state-slavery on a helpless and unoffending conquered nation, must make our people realize that they peril their own souls, that they degrade their own manhood, if they do not bear emphatic testimony against the perpetration of such iniquity.

I am glad to be one among the Americans who thus bear testimony.

Yours very truly,

THEODORE ROOSEVELT."

(Great applause.)

From Joseph H. Choate

"8 EAST SIXTY-THIRD STREET,
12 December, 1916.

MY DEAR DR. MANNING:

I am very sorry that I am unavoidably prevented from taking an active part in the meeting on Friday night, to protest against one of the most cruel and barbarous atrocities known to history, and to support the great effort which our President has been making to put a stop to it, in which he is entitled to the assistance of all the citizens of the United States of all parties.

The Secretary of State states that the United States Government has exhausted its means of diplomacy, and, therefore, lays the case before American public opinion, from which it will expect to draw guidance for the next steps, if any be taken. I do not agree to that view, although I accept it for the time being in deference to the high authority of the President. I do not believe that we are bound to continue diplomatic relations with a nation that shall persist in such brutal outrages, against the universal protest of the neutral world. (Great applause.)

Chancellor von Bethman-Hollweg told Secretary Grew that the deportations are regarded as justified "on the grounds of social necessity."

(Cry of "It's a lie!")

But the same Chancellor declared to the world on the Fourth of August, 1914, that the invasion of Belgium was justified on the same plea of necessity, although he admitted that it was all wrong and was in violation of international law and would be fully paid for, as it will be by and by. (Great applause.)

I have read that the Vice-Chancellor of Germany said the other day that these deportations were in entire accordance with international law, and were authorized by the Convention

with respect to the Laws and Customs of War on Land, adopted by the first Hague Conference in 1899, which was adopted by all the belligerent nations, and particularly by the Forty-third Article of the Convention. But this is a still more frivolous and unfounded plea, which, I am not surprised to see, the Chancellor himself in his conversation with Secretary Grew took no notice of and did not adopt.

Article Forty-three says nothing on the subject, but simply requires the occupant of territory under military authority 'to take all steps in his power to re-establish and insure, as far as possible, public order and safety'. Surely, that does not require him to tear the inhabitants of that territory by force from their homes and their families, to exile them to a foreign country, and there reduce them to slavery and compel them to take the places of laborers who will recruit his own hostile army. And the next Article, Forty-four, expressly declares that 'Any compulsion of the population of occupied territory to take part in military operations against its own country is prohibited.'

But the Vice-Chancellor has forgotten the whole spirit of the Conference of 1899, which declares in its preamble that 'animated by the desire to serve the interests of *humanity* and the ever-increasing requirements of *civilization*', and 'thinking it important, with this object, to revise the laws and general customs of war, either with the view of defining them more precisely, or of laying down certain limits for the purpose of *moderating their severity* as far as possible', the Conference 'has in this spirit adopted a great number of provisions, the object of which is to define and govern the usages of war on land.' The Conference, however, recognized that 'it has not been possible to agree forthwith on provisions embracing all the circumstances which occur in practice', and declares that 'cases not provided for should not, for want of a written provision, be left to the arbitrary judgment of the military Commanders'. And it declares further that 'in cases not included in the regulations adopted by it, *populations and belligerents remain under the protection and empire of the principles of international law, as they result from the usages established between civilized nations, from the laws of humanity, and the requirements of the public conscience.*'

Now, certainly, neither international law, nor the usages of civilized nations, nor the laws of humanity, nor the requirements of the public conscience justify these horrible proceedings, and Germany by its ratification of the Final Act of the Conference of 1899 bound itself in the conduct of war on land to be governed by these lofty and noble standards.

I trust that your meeting will be a great success, and will follow by other meetings throughout the land in the same spirit, so as to guide the President, as he requests, in the further conduct of this awful business. For as Lord Bryce very justly says 'nothing could be more shocking than this wholesale carrying away of men from Belgium into virtual slavery.' They are being deported in hundreds of thousands, in order to compel them to engage in work for the benefit of the German army and against their own country, and the method of doing it is as barbarous and brutal as the purpose of it.

Very truly yours,

JOSEPH H. CHOATE.

The Rt. Rev. William T. Manning."

(Great applause.)

From Bishop O'Gorman

"SIOUX FALLS, S. D., Dec. 13, 1916.

To THOMAS F. RYAN, New York:

I am glad of the opportunity to join with my fellow citizens in protest against deportation of Belgian civilians, a measure inhuman, unchristian, contrary to civilized warfare.

(Signed) BISHOP THOMAS O'GORMAN."

From Archbishop Ireland

"ST. PAUL, MINN., Dec. 14, 1916.

To THOMAS F. RYAN, N. Y.:

The meeting in New York in protest of deportation of Belgians receives a cordial and sympathetic re-echo from Americans elsewhere on the Continent. The meeting speaks in the name of primary duties, of justice, and humanity. Those to whom that protest is addressed will not, I believe, turn a deaf ear to your entreaties, and will, on calmer thought, desist from the dreadful rigors into which for the moment, war passion has led them. The peace-abiding civilized population of the country have an inviolable right to live on their own soil. Forced labor on that of their foes finds nowhere justification. Cardinal Mercier tells the details of Belgian deportation.

The truth of his statements cannot be doubted. The facts as told by him challenge contradiction. They affright the hearer. No explanation, no excuse, diminishes the awful cruelty implied in them. For its own sake, for the sake of the honorable record it covets in the history of the nations, Germany will, as we hope, quickly reverse its present position, and leave Belgians to live and suffer on their own Belgian soil.

(Signed) Archbishop Ireland."

From Samuel Harden Church

"Pittsburgh, Pa., Dec. 15, 1916.

To the Hon. James M. Beck,
Belgian Meeting, Carnegie Hall, N. Y.

The whole world joins in your protest against the continued outrages in Belgium. Germany today stands gloating over the ruined countries of her peaceful neighbors, holding the dripping sword of murder in her hand, while all around her lie human forms, dead, dying, maimed, broken-hearted, and the distant roads chocked with thousands of creatures whom she has deported into slavery. Like a medieval barbarian she calls this unprovoked desolation a proud victory; let us have no peace until she is forced to pay the bill in full.

(Signed) Samuel Harden Church.
President of Carnegie Institute."

The Chairman: I now have the great pleasure of introducing one who is preeminently qualified to speak to us upon this matter, who is as well known abroad as he is in our own land, for his fearless, able, and conclusive presentation of the facts relating to this war, and whose books, "The Evidence in the Case", and "The War and Humanity", ought to be read by every intelligent man and woman,—the Honorable James M. Beck! (Applause.)

ADDRESS OF THE HON. JAMES M. BECK

We are met tonight to protest in the sacred cause of justice and humanity against the most damnable infamy of modern times. (Applause.) If the people of the United States did not thus protest, the very "stones of the streets would cry out against us". (Applause.) We represent citizens of all parties, creeds and classes. Whatever our differences of opinion may be or may have been in other matters, we are a unit tonight in pledging to our Government our support in any attempt which it may make to end the slow murder of a great, a noble and an innocent people.

We protest against it as citizens of the United States, because our country has always been in the past a noble interpreter of the best ideals of humanity and a steadfast champion of the weak and the oppressed.

We protest as citizens of the large commonwealth of civilization, whose system of international law, the inestimable heritage of the ages, has been mocked and nullified by the cruel war, waged by the Prussian conquerors of Belgium against the non-combatants of that stricken land. (Applause.)

We protest as children of a common God against the wicked and wanton wrongs that the ruthless invader has inflicted upon our brethren, the brave people of Belgium. (Applause.)

In so doing we are not playing the rôle of officious intermeddlers in a quarrel that is not our own. These violations of international law offend humanity, affront civilization and vitally concern the whole human family. They constitute a flagrant negation of all that civilization has accomplished in mitigating the horrors of war.

We remember that when our own country, at a time when it was fighting for its very life, committed a comparatively trivial violation of international law in forcibly taking the Com-

missioners of the Confederate States from the British steamer, the *Trent,* Prussia, while recognizing that only England was "immediately concerned in the matter", took the broad and righteous stand that it too had a direct interest in the vindication of the "rights of the neutral flag". If our act then concerned Prussia, Prussia's act now concerns us. (Great applause.)

If I do not misinterpret the sentiment of the American people, then it believes that any peace, that would leave the rights of Belgium without vindication and their wrongs without reparation would be infinitely more mischievous than a continuation of the war. "Reparation", do I say? Can the dead be restored to life? Can happiness ever be restored to those who have been plunged into unending misery? Can historic temples be restored, or the priceless treasures of antiquity be returned? Vengeance there may be, reparation there can never be. Before peace shall come, Belgium, innocent and shamefully oppressed, must not only be restored but its just cause vindicated, if the reign of law is ever to be restored to a distracted civilization. (Great applause.) We may well recall the solemn words of Abraham Lincoln, in a similar crisis:

"Fondly do we hope, fervently do we pray, that this mighty scourge of war may speedily pass away. Yet, if God wills that it continue until all the wealth piled by the bondsman's two hundred and fifty years of unrequited toil shall be sunk, and until every drop of blood drawn with the lash shall be paid by another drawn with the sword, as was said three thousand years ago, so still it must be said 'the judgments of the Lord are true and righteous altogether.'" (Applause.)

Prussia's crime against Belgium is deepened by circumstances of treachery and fraud which are beyond explanation or condonation. Between Belgium and Germany at the outbreak of the war there was no quarrel or even suggested grievance. Outwardly Germany was Belgium's friend to the very moment that its mighty armies crossed the Belgian frontiers. Not only had Prussia solemnly guaranteed the neutrality of Belgium by the treaty of 1839, but its Chancellor had given

DIVINITY SCHOOL of the

to Belgium in 1870, and again in 1911 and again in the early part of 1914, the most solemn assurances that in the event of a war between Germany and France, the territory of Belgium would be respected. Even when the clouds of the present war rapidly gathered in that last fateful week of July, 1914, the German Minister at Brussels again assured the Belgian Foreign Minister that these repeated and most solemn assurances would not be broken, and this assurance was repeated on August the second, 1914, the very day that Germany made its unprovoked and most treacherous assault.

Had Belgium been willing to sacrifice its honor, it could not only have saved itself from infinite suffering, but it could have pleaded the common extenuation that self-preservation is the first law of nature, and that a nation, whose military strength compared with that of Germany was as that of a child to a giant, was not obliged to attempt the impossible. David bravely faced Goliath and the ultimate result will yet be the same.

Belgium never hesitated for a minute. Her Government immediately replied to the oppressive and cruel demand in these noble words:

"The Belgian Government would by accepting the propositions which are notified to her sacrifice the honor of the nation while at the same time betraying her duties toward Europe. Conscious of the part Belgium has played for more than eighty years in the civilization of the world, she refuses to believe that her independence can be preserved only at the expense of the violation of her neutrality. If this hope were disappointed, the Belgian Government has firmly resolved to repulse by every means in her power any attack upon her rights."

There have been few, if any, nobler replies in all the annals of statecraft. It had borne its faculties so meek, had been so clear in its great office, that its virtues will plead, like angels, trumpet tongued, against the deep damnation of its taking off. In this unmerited fate no country except Belgium can wholly save itself from some reproach, for the whole world should have sprung to its defense against a wanton outrage. Belgium

owed no higher duty to sacrifice itself for the welfare of civilization than civilization owed to it the duty of protection.

Belgium did not sacrifice itself solely because of its high regard for its solemn obligations of neutrality, but because it loved its own soil, its own freedom and its own inalienable rights. The spirit that animated the defense of Liege was that which inspired the heroic Greeks who defended the pass at Thermopylæ against overwhelming numbers and the embattled farmers of New England who defended the bridge at Concord. Let us in this dark hour take heart by remembering that as Thermopylæ preceded the final triumph at Platæa, and as the equally unsuccessful defense at Lexington preceded the surrender at Yorktown, so Belgium's Platæa and Yorktown will come in God's good time. (Great applause.)

In the meantime Belgium has lost neither its soul nor its honor. Through unending ages, men of all nations will honor its young king, that Bayard *sans peur et sans reproche.* For the honor of his country and the welfare of mankind he put at the hazard his crown, his throne, his life. Crownless or crowned, throneless or enthroned, Albert of Belgium, will be a hero until the last syllable of recorded time. There are crowns not made by hand or of gold. The admiration and affection of the world fashions them. Such King Albert will always wear. Such the Kaiser, who stabbed him, while professing friendship, will never wear, even if his iron rule shall extend from Berlin to Bagdad. (Great applause.)

I need not speak of the details of the invasion. The soul of any humane man revolts at their recital and the mind sickens at their contemplation. The sack of Rome under Charles V. and the siege of Magdeburg under Tilly—two of the blackest chapters in history—involved the pillage only of a city. In the full noonday of the Twentieth Century the world was to witness to its lasting horror the pillage of a nation. (Applause.)

Towns, villages and cities were laid in ruins, noble temples of religion and learning destroyed, and countless thousands of Belgian non-combatants, including old and young and women and children, priests and laymen, pitilessly murdered. Before

the work of this "Bloody Council" had ended, 6,000 Belgian non-combatants had been slaughtered. When in any civilized country was there in modern times such a slaughter of the innocents?

If I were asked to name the three most courageous men in this great crisis of human history, I would name without hesitation Karl Liebknecht of Germany, King Albert of Belgium and Cardinal Mercier. (Great applause.) Let me read the testimony of that noble prelate and heroic Prince of the Church.

In his Christmas pastoral letter of 1914, addressed to a people who would have known the truth or falsity of his statements, Cardinal Mercier said:

"We can neither number our dead nor compute the measure of our ruins. * * * Families hitherto living at ease are now in bitter want. All commerce is at an end. All careers ruined. Industry at a standstill. Thousands upon thousands of workmen without employment. Working women, shop girls unemployed, servant girls without the means of earning their bread, and poor souls forlorn in the bed of sickness and fever crying, 'Oh, Lord, how long, how long.'"

Let us assume, without conceding, that Germany, having committed the crime of treacherously invading a friendly country, was yet compelled by military necessity to subjugate an infuriated people to its will by sternly repressive measures, yet when such work of subjugation was complete and nearly all of Belgium was in the conqueror's hands, the obligations of international law and peculiar considerations of generosity and magnanimity required that Germany should not merely care for the people it had abused, ruined and impoverished, but should mitigate the evil consequences of her wanton attack so far as possible. In his speech before the Reichstag the German Chancellor, now asking peace in the name of humanity—God save the mark!—promised the entire world that the "wrong", which he freely admitted his country was doing to Belgium would be made "good as soon as our military goal has been reached"? Distrustful of the promise, more than a

million Belgians had fled as penniless refugees to neighboring countries, and the German authorities, when enforced peace in Belgium was measurably restored, invited them to return upon the express promise, given by Baron von der Goltz, the Military Governor, to Cardinal Mercier, that their liberties would be respected and that they would not be obliged to work against their will, much less to serve against their country.

A deeper obligation of the highest honor rested upon Germany. Under international law, she was obliged to support the people whom she had, to serve her own ends, cruelly impoverished. To her lasting shame Germany refused to fulfill an obligation resting upon the broadest considerations of humanity and peculiarly incumbent upon her in view of the acknowledged wrong that she had done Belgium in her treacherous atack and the solemn promises of reparation that she had made. She promised bread, she gave a stone. In an incredibly short time, she cut off Belgium from the world and ruined her by the wholesale spoliation of her resources.

Germany then invited, not only her enemies, but the neutral world, and especially the United States, to come to the relief of a people whom she had reduced to destitution. While recognizing that every dollar contributed for this purpose was an indirect contribution to German resources in relieving her of a manifest obligation, yet France and England, constrained by gratitude and pity, contributed more than $200,000,000 to relieve the impoverished population. The United States, by private contributions contributed approximately $10,000,000, and no one in this country who gave to this cause, from the penny of the child to the larger gifts of the well-to-do, ever questioned that Germany would not either directly or indirectly deprive the Belgian people of these voluntary gifts.

Instead of respecting this sacred obligation, Germany perpetrated a wicked and stupendous fraud upon the entire world. While the rest of the world, belligerents and neutrals, were sending a stream of gifts for the relief of the Belgian people, Germany, in violation of every principle of international law and every dictate of humanity was stripping the Belgian people of

its resources. It did not take the food, clothing and money contributed by the charity of the world, but it did take by force and fraud the possessions of the Belgian people, and the very means by which they lived and worked. No crime could be more ignoble than this action of Germany. The charity of the world has kept the Belgium people alive, but it has not saved them from destitution. Universal poverty is now their portion, for of a population of seven millions, three millions daily wait in the bread line for sufficient food to keep alive.

This has been done in pursuance of a deliberate system. Twelve years before the invasion of Belgium, the General Staff of the Germany Army in contravention of all the principles of international law, instructed its Generals, to quote its exact words, that

> "a war conducted with energy cannot be directed merely against the combatants of the enemy State and the positions they occupy, but it will and must in like manner seek to destroy *the total intellectual and material resources* of the latter. The argument of war permits every belligerent State to have recourse to all means which enable it to attain the object of the war."

The same war manual provides that it is the duty of German Commanders "ruthlessly to employ the necessary means of defense and intimidation". And again, that a commanding officer neglects his duty unless he resorts to "the ruthless employment of such severity". "Ruthless" is their own word. These Prussian martinets seem to glory in it.

Pursuing this policy, the conqueror proceeded systematically to despoil Belgium, while inviting not only its enemies but the entire neutral world to contribute to the support of a people, whom it was deliberately robbing of its means of sustenance. It surrounded Belgium with a barbed wire fence, charged with electricity. It forbade travel, or communication by the mails. It took the raw materials from the warehouses, the specie from the Banks, the securities from individuals, the copper coinage from the hands of the people, the machinery from many factories, horses, cattle and implements from the farms, mineral

products from the mines, products of iron, copper or steel, and transported them to Germany for the use of their own people. It is estimated that this "booty", another favorite term of the Prussian General Staff and savoring of the Middle Ages, amounted to $500,000,000.

The Rockefeller Foundation of our own country reports that in the zone of war every house in some of the villages was pillaged, and where it was impossible to carry away the furniture it was ruthlessly broken into pieces.

It may be conceded that all was not taken, but enough was to reduce one of the wealthiest and thriftiest peoples of the world to almost universal destitution. Even the goods of the merchant, the manufacturer and the farmer, which for some reason were left to the Belgians, were put under German control and could only be sold by sufferance and permission and at prices fixed by them.

As if this were not enough, the financial resources of the country were then drained. Requisitions were made in money amounting to $200,000,000, and these continue at the rate of $8,000,000 per month. To these formal requisitions were added oppressive fines upon municipalities for offenses, often trivial, which drained people of the last of their pecuniary resources.

No words can tell the suffering of a proud people, who had never asked any one for charity. Many would doubtless have preferred death, for it was once well said that "you take my life when you do take the means whereby I live".

The Conqueror, having thus, to use its own words, destroyed the "intellectual and material resources" of its victims, then proceeded to appropriate their labor by reducing them to a state of labor slavery. The German authorities obtained a list of the unemployed, and reserved to itself the right of allotting work to the unemployed. It provided by the ordinance of May 2, 1916, that if any person carried out any work by means of the unemployed, without the consent of the German Military Government, he would be punished with three years imprisonment and a fine of 25,000 francs.

By a subsequent order of May 13, 1916, the military authorities in the various districts were directed to remove by force the unemployed to places where they were required by their

German oppressors to work. This was the beginning of the slave raids, now in progress to the horror of the world.

Is there in modern history anything approaching to this catalogue of horrors? The chief justification has been the fact that the Belgian people in the first few weeks of the invasion fought in contravention of international law. That is precisely what the minute men of Lexington and Concord did when from behind the stone walls of New England farms they poured hot shot upon the British grenadiers returning from Concord to Boston Town, but I never heard, even in the last part of the Eighteenth Century, when international morality was not that of the Twentieth Century, that General Gage in revenge burned hundreds of villages and towns of New England, destroyed public edifices, deprived the people of their resources, shot or deported the leading men and reduced the rest to slavery. It is also said that these steps are necessary, because of the idleness and poverty of the unhappy people, but who caused the idleness and poverty, if not the army of occupation? This excuse reminds me of the fable of the wolf, who devoured the lamb for muddying the stream, although as the lamb vainly pointed out, it was standing further down the stream.

At the beginning of the present year, when the work of spoliation and terrorism had been completed and peace of the Warsaw variety reigned in Belgium, it was thought that Prussia's cup of infamy was full to the very brim, and that nothing could it to damnation add greater than that. The system of enforced slavery began under peculiarly malignant circumstances last Easter, when hundreds of women and young girls in Belgium and northern France were ruthlessly and suddenly torn from their homes and shipped to detention camps, where they were obliged to work in the harvest fields under Prussian bayonets.

As a distinguished American, who actually beheld in the occupied territory some of the details of this new form of white slavery, told me, a husband would leave his home to earn bread for his wife and children, and on returning in the evening he would find that his wife and daughters had been taken in his absence and transported to some unknown destination and

equally unknown fate. It is said, and is probably true, that the victims of this slave raid last Easter were returned to their homes after the harvest had been gathered; but it further aggravates the blackness of the offense against chivalry and justice, that even the product of this enforced toil, as my informant told me, did not at first go to the relief of the Belgian people themselves, but was transported to Germany. The brave protest of our American Commission—the lasting honor shall be the portion of that heroic American Herbert Hoover,—finally succeeded in regaining for the work of the Commission a part of the harvest which the women slaves of Belgium had reaped by their enforced labors.

The culminating chapter of this black volume of human oppression has now been reached, for while the seizure and enforced labor of French and Belgian women was atrocious, because of their sex, yet at least they were permitted to work in their own country. Now, however, the Prussian slave raiders pass from village to village and town to town, ruthlessly apprehending men of all classes, ticket them like slaves, herd them like cattle in cattle cars and transport them into Germany, in order to help Germany indirectly to fight its enemies, and thus in part keep their own country under subjugation.

Was ever slavery more malignantly cruel than this? Already 100,000 have been thus deported.

Let me again cite the evidence of that noble priest of God, Cardinal Mercier, who in his protest of November 7, 1916, says:

"Every day the military authorities deport from Belgium into Germany thousands of inoffensive citizens to oblige them there to perform enforced labor.

"At the time of our protests (of October 19) the orders of the occupying power threatened only the unemployed; to-day every able-bodied man is carried off, assembled in freight cars and carried off to unknown parts, like a herd of slaves. The enemy proceeds by regions. Vague reports had come to our ears that arrests had been made in Tournau, Ghent and Alost, but we were not aware of the conditions under which they had been made. Between October 24 and November 2, it occurred

in the regions of Mons, Quievrain, Saint Guislain, Jemappes, in bunches of 800 to 1,200 men a day. The next and the following days it occurred in the Arrondissment of Nivelles."

Cardinal Mercier quotes in his statement the official notices of the German military authorities, which show that in a given community every male person over 17 years of age was obliged to present himself at a certain place at eight o'clock, with small hand baggage, under penalty that if he failed to do so, he would be subjected to heavy fine and long imprisonment. He adds that between the announcement and the deportation only an interval of twenty-four hours was permitted.

Time does not permit further comment and indeed no comment could do justice to the enormity of this offense against a brave and free people, whom Germany at first treacherously attacked, then impoverished and is now at least temporarily enslaving. For this culminating atrocity, there can be no atonement until the Hohenzollern dynasty is driven from its throne of power into the darkness of exile. There can be no lasting peace in the world until there is the Republic of Germany. (Applause.)

The question is not what Germany is doing, but what the rest of the world proposes to do and above all, what the United States, as the greatest of the neutral powers, proposes to do.

We went to war against Spain for an offense which, by comparison, was trivial, namely, the gathering of the non-combatants of Cuba in the concentration camps, to facilitate the operations of the Spanish Army in putting down the Cuban Rebellion. Our great Civil War was fought to abolish slavery and we did not regard the 400,000 lives which perished in this titanic conflict as wasted to bring about that result.

If America has any mission, it is to defend liberty against tyranny. Onr nation has protested against the violation of international law involved in the killing of women and children and other non-combatants upon the high seas. Shall it or can it be deaf to the infinitely greater evil of the virtual enslavement of a whole people? (Cries "No". "No".)

It is in the power of the United States, without recourse to arms, to bring this system of oppression to an end. All that

is necessary is for the President of the United States to instruct our representative in Berlin to notify the German Government that unless it gives a prompt assurance that the forcible deportation of Belgians to Germany shall immediately cease, the German Ambassador will be given his passports. (Tremendous applause.)

Germany cannot, dare not, quarrel with this country in this crisis of its fortunes. It believes in its inner councils that it will need this country to save it from the wrath to come. Let us hope that the people of America will by their outspoken indignation here and elsewhere give to the President of the United States the fullest assurance—if indeed any assurance is necessary—that if he will act and act speedily to defend the Belgian people from further wrong, he will have the support of the American people without respect to parties, creeds or classes. (Great applause.)

Liberty enlightening the world is a noble symbol. In peaceful times it is enough that Liberty should with the torch of truth in her uplifted hand illumine the dark corners of the earth but in this crisis of civilization, possibly the gravest in modern times, let Liberty not merely give its light to illumine the darkness, but let it stretch forth its hand to save the helpless. Let it at least extend to the people of Belgium the hand of succor and sustenance. The time may come when England and France cannot longer contribute millions to the relief of the starving Belgians. Let this be the work of the United States. Why should not our Government, with the consent of the belligerents, loan to Belgium, to be administered through the American Commission, a sufficient fund to feed the people of Belgium until the end of the war? We are rich and prosperous. Why should not the United States make Belgium its ward and by direct governmental action save the remnant of that brave people in the conquered territory from starvation? Such a course would have this quality of mercy, in that it would "bless him that gives and him that takes."

That uplifted hand of Liberty should, however, do more than succor the Belgians in their proud poverty. It should defend them in their rights. At one strong insistent word from Amer-

ica, the shackles of slavery will fall from their bent forms. (Great applause.)

Can we, dare we, delay the word of help and defense? Belgium has been nailed to the cross for the welfare of civilization. Let us not wait until she cries, "It is finished".

"Once to every man and nation comes the moment to decide
In the strife of Truth with Falsehood, for the good or evil side.
Some great cause, God's new Messiah, offering each the bloom or blight
Parts the goats upon the left hand, the sheep upon the right,
And the choice goes by forever 'twixt that darkness and that light.

"Hast thou chosen, O my people, on whose party thou shalt stand
Ere the Doom from its worn sandals shakes the dust against our land?
Though the cause of evil prosper, yet 'tis Truth alone is strong,
And, albeit she wander outcast now, I see around her throng,
Troops of beautiful, tall angels, to enshield her from all wrong.

"Careless seems the great Avenger; history's pages but record
One death grapple in the darkness 'twixt old systems and the Word.
Truth forever on the scaffold, Wrong forever on the throne,—
Yet that scaffold sways the future, and, behind the dim unknown
Standeth God within the shadow, keeping watch above his own."

(Great applause.)

BELGIAN NATIONAL ANTHEM

The audience arose and remained standing while the band played "Un Brabançonne".

THE CHAIRMAN: The next speaker is one who, as a Judge of the highest Court of this State, and as the chosen leader of one of the great political parties has long held high place in the community and in the country; one to whom his fellow citizens have learned to look, and who is here tonight to speak his strong word against these deeds which are a shame to civilization, and a humiliation to the world. Judge Alton B. Parker! (Applause.)

ADDRESS OF EX-JUDGE ALTON B. PARKER

We are here to make our protest against the latest phase in the war upon Belgium. We come not as partisans, favoring the one side or another in the great war, but in behalf of helpless humanity, outraged anew by a return to methods abandoned hundreds of years ago and not revived even in the most savage of the late contests in which men have been engaged. We come to discuss as coolly as the circumstances themselves will permit, the facts as they face us in the most pathetic case known to mankind or history.

For two thousand years Belgium, in spite of her attractiveness as a place of battle, grew slowly but surely into one of the fairest spots on the earth's surface. Inhabited originally by one of the most vigorous of primitive peoples, their country, small as it has always been, became one of the centres of industry, religion, art and a culture that made itself felt in the remotest part of the world. As conditions changed, so important was this small country deemed by the greater nations, that its integrity was guaranteed by all those around it. But when a great struggle arose it was overrun without act or procurement of its own, whether innocent or overt, its people subjected to the ordinary horrors of war, without even the smallest possibility on their part of public or private interest or individual or general profit. They were subjected to every hardship and to the most exacting humiliations. Their lives were sacrificed with unsparing ruthlessness. Their industries were destroyed or turned against them. Their property was seized with a mediæval thoroughness and a more than mediæval severity, and their homes, merely because they defended them, became a universal battlefield. In a word, their country so full of everything that could attract or benefit humanity, was turned from peaceful pursuits, from a prosperity that gave it the aspect of a beehive, and made into a shamble, in which their men, women and children were the victims. To these must now be added the systematic carrying away into

distant slavery of many thousands of workmen—none but the best is wanted—without any serious pretense that it is done for any other purpose than the benefit of their enemies. No official announcement is made of the number of unfortunates, of how long they will be kept in bondage, or whether they will ever be freed, or not. Some admiration must be confessed for the fact that no apologies are made. There is no claim that the policy is not opposed to the promises made or that the laws of nations have not been violated. Nothing is said in justification except to assert the law of necessity and its logic, "the will to power, and the determination to put them both into effect without regard to right or convention, and apparently without regard to the protests of either belligerents or neutrals."

This creates a situation different in all respects from any that has hitherto appeared. It gives the protest of the people of the United States a new standing,—a standing already recognized by our President, who in obedience to the manifest wish of the people as well as to the dictates of his own heart, and mind, has lodged with the German Chancellor a protest in a friendly spirit, but most solemnly, against the deportation of Belgians because "In contravention of all precedent and of those humane principles of international practice which have long been accepted and followed by civilized nations * * *." That protest we endorse from beginning to end, and further than that we propose to stand by the President in his effort to secure the release from bondage of the deported Belgians.

Not only have our people in their government or corporate capacity, by signing the Hague Conventions, participated in the guarantees of Belgian independence and neutrality, but they have also signified in no uncertain way from the very beginning of the war, their sympathy with the small but proud people, in the indignities that have been heaped upon them. Indeed, the partiality of any large proportion of our people in this war is due in no small measure to their sympathy with Belgium in her sad plight. This sympathy is not based upon interest, or politics, or desire for power, or upon either a willingness or an unwillingness to be drawn into the maelstrom of European complications, but upon the sufferings of a deeply wronged people; and so the protests which we make here tonight repre-

sent the known and easily ascertained sentiment of the people of this country. It echoes the universal protest against injustice and tyranny; it turns, as we have done from the earliest days of our history, to the warning of distress to the small and the helpless. It cries to Heaven against injustice and cruelty and insists that, even in war, the interests of humanity and religion shall not be overlooked or entirely forgotten.

This is all the more imperative because both as a nation and a people we are strong. Because our people are devoted to peace, because they have done everything in their power to preserve and promote it, because they hope that they may do even more to insure it in the future, are reasons strong as Holy Writ why we should make our protest as loud and impassioned as we may against the return, in the present conflict, to forms of cruelty and oppression long in abeyance. If methods and conditions hateful to everything that justice, christianity and civilization hold dear, are now permitted to rule unquestioned, and to become again the commonplaces of war, it is difficult to foresee a time when the advance thus lost can be regained. If war is to be waged, here and now, with the purpose of making human slavery again a part of it, whenever power, or necessity, or brutality, may dictate, it will not make much difference, in the future of the world, whether provisions are made for the preservation or restoration of peace, as proposed or not.

We do not hope to stop this war, but unless we protest with both passion and effect against its abuses, its disregard of law and of the humanities it will be both impossible to prevent the next one, or hinder it from degenerating into a barbarity which will throw mankind back into the period of Carthage. We do therefore enter our protests against this enormity, this new slavery, not alone because it is abhorrent to us, but also to the end that all may know that we are in earnest sympathy with the position taken by our government in respect to this matter. We insist that neither under the pretext of necessity nor in the assertion of brute force, shall patriotism be rewarded with enslavement nor the innocent punished by methods no more to be re-established or excused, or thought of in time of war than in days of peace. We have

joined the whole world in abolishing the slavery of men because they were black and now join the whole world in protest against the return to this condition of white men, long after it has been abandoned for all men. We venture to hope that this protest may become nation-wide; that the voice of America and Americans may find expression in no doubtful way; that for the honor of humanity the uninvited woes of the Belgian people may arouse universal interest and a practical sympathy not less wide. It is the one urgent world question of the day. The advance or the defeat of armies is far less vital, has far less influence upon the future of the world, than this one problem. It affects directly one of the smallest countries of the world; indirectly it comes home with crushing force to every man and woman everywhere who either thinks or feels. (Applause.) God grant that their voices may be so lifted up that they shall be both heard and heeded.

As I think of Liege and Antwerp and see before me Edith Cavell, as I learn of the latest—but as I well know, not last—brutal decree of a tyrannous Conqueror, I tremble for my country lest it be lulled to selfish indifference in the face of these great wrongs.

Bear ever in mind that though in the end evil do not prevail, yet its prevailing in part at any time is generally due to lack of heed from those, who like ourselves, should not only keep a vigilant outlook, but also "keep our powder dry." (Great applause.)

The Chairman: It is my privilege now to present to you one who holds a unique place in the esteem and admiration of his fellow countrymen. There is no man to whom the American people look with more confidence for wise counsel, high vision and fearless statement of the truth, there is no man better entitled to speak for Belgian freedom and for American honor than Elihu Root. (Great applause.)

ADDRESS OF THE HON. ELIHU ROOT

Mr. President, Fellow Americans: I am glad to join my voice tonight with my fellows in this free land in condemnation and protest upon this new outrage that is visited upon poor and bleeding Belgium.

I could not remain silent. I should not respect myself if I remained silent, and I hope, I trust, I pray, that my country will not remain silent.

Explain it as you may, excuse it as you may, disguise it as you may, the people of Belgium by the tens and hundreds of thousands are being carried away into slavery,—a thing that has not been done by any nation that claimed to be civilized in modern history.

Poor Belgium, peaceful, industrious, God-fearing, lawabiding Belgium, she had no quarrel with anyone; she sought no nation's territory; she coveted no neighbor's goods; she threatened no one's security, but she stood in the way of a mightier nation's purpose,—and she was stricken to the earth! Her firm, her stern and noble resolve to keep the faith was her only crime, and she has been punished as if her people were the vilest on earth. Her towns have been burned, her noble and stately monuments have been leveled to the earth; her women and children and old men have been murdered; her country has been brought under the sway of a foreign invader, and she has been bled white by vast exactions of money and of produce. Every effort to revive her industries has been denied, and now, because she has suffered thus, her men are to be carried away to forced labor as slaves.

If the civilized world of the twentieth century is willing to stand silent and see these things done, in cumulative progression, in violation of the laws of humanity and of nations, then the civilization of the twentieth century is worse than the savagery of Roman times.

It seems that there is no place for the independence of small, weak States, for security in self-government by peaceable and unarmed peoples, or for individual freedom, or for private right, in that scheme of things under which "liberty for national evolution" is to justify all uses of power.

But, what we have to do is not merely to gratify our own feelings by expressing them regarding this treatment of the Belgians. What we have to do is not merely to protest in the name of Humanity,—it is to assert a right, it is to call upon the world to assert a right, a right under the law of nations for the protection of humanity and of civilization. This is our concern. This deportation of the Belgians to involuntary servitude is a violation of our law, of the law we helped to make, of the law which in common with all civilized nations we have built up generation after generation, and it has been embodied in definite and certain and solemn instruments of agreement, as to what humanity demands, signed by Belgium, signed by Germany, and binding today. I see that General von Bissing justifies the deportation of Belgian workmen and refers to the Hague Convention as to the basis for his action, quoting the provision that it is the duty of a belligerent power, in possession of conquered territory, to preserve order. The deportation, he says, was to preserve order in Belgium. Let me read the whole of the provision to which he refers.

"The authority of the legitimate power, having actually passed into the hands of the occupant, the latter shall take all steps in his power to re-establish and insure as far as possible public order and safety, while respecting, unless absolutely prevented, the laws in force in the country."

The most solemn of the laws of Belgium, protecting the rights of her people, were violated in contravention of that very provision by the man who appeals to it for his justification.

What I read was from Article 43 of the 1899 Convention. The Convention proceeds:

"Family honors and rights, individual lives, and private property, as well as religious convictions, and liberty, must be respected."

The convention further proceeds: "Until a more complete code of the laws of war is issued, the high contracting parties have the right to declare that in cases not included in the regulations adopted by them, populations and belligerents remain under the protection and empire of the principles of international law as they result from the usages established between

civilized nations, the laws of humanity, and the requirements of public conscience."

That convention was signed and ratified by every Power that is now engaged in the European War, as well as by ourselves. There was a subsequent convention that was signed by nearly all, which contained a provision that as to those that did not sign, the convention from which I read continued in force. The subsequent convention contained precisely indentical provisions, so that Germany is bound in conscience and in law by the existing treaty between her and us, between her and Belgium, declaring what the principles of humanity require in the treatment of occupied territory. Those principles of humanity have been violated in accordance with the very statement of them upon which she and we have agreed.

Now, I say this law is our law; it is our protection. The rights of man, peace and humanity, cannot be preserved upon impulse alone. Law governing men in the treatment of the weak and defenceless is necessary; and so for years, for centuries, the nations have been building up a code of law, international law, and that law is the protection—the enforcement of that law, respect for that law, obedience to that law, are the protection of our peaceable people, of all weak and small nations, of all those that do not wish to be armed to the teeth every moment for their own protection.

We have a right to have it observed, and it is our duty to our children and to our country that we shall not remain silent in the face of open, flagrant, contemptuous disregard and violation of it.

How can it be preserved? Not merely by armies and navies. No. There is but one power on earth that can preserve the law for the protection of the poor, the weak and the humble; there is but one power on earth that can preserve the law for the maintenance of civilization and humanity, and that is the power, the mighty power, of the public opinion of mankind!

Without it, your leagues to enforce peace, your societies for a world's court, your peace conventions, your peace endowments, are all powerless, because no force moves in this world unless it ultimately has public opinion behind it.

The thing that men fear more than they do the sheriff or the

policeman or the State's prison is the condemnation of the community in which they live.

The thing that among nations is the most potent force is the universal condemnation of mankind. And even during this terrible struggle we have seen the nations appealing from day to day, appealing by speech and by pen and by press for favorable judgment from mankind, the public opinion of the world. That opinion establishes standards of conduct. In Roman times, the standard of conduct permitted the carrying off of slaves to the mines; permitted the impaling of prisoners; permitted the sacking of towns. At the time of the Thirty Years' War, outrages almost as bad as those which have been perpetrated in Belgium were in accord with the practice and acquiescence of the world, but we thought that we had been building up new standards of conduct, that the world had grown more compassionate, and more kindly, and it had. The public opinion of the world was establishing, had established, a more humane and Christian standard of conduct, both in peace and in war. That standard is now beaten down, it is destroyed, it is set at naught. And if we remain silent, if the great neutral peoples of the world remain silent, the standard is gone forever.

And, mark this, the new standard, or rather, the return to the old standard of barbarism will not stop with the poor people of Belgium. It will be here! Not perhaps for you and me, but for our children it will be here.

How can we maintain the standard of civilization? Not by silence regarding international wrong. If the world of well meaning and kindly and good people remain silent when hideous wrong is done, what difference is there to the wrongdoer between right and wrong? In order that the public opinion of the world should be worth anything, it must condemn wrong.

And that is what we are called upon to do now. I have thought it should be done before, but now there can be no doubt. I say that the mightiest power that man knows, is ready to be awakened and brought to bear for the prevention of such crimes in the future, provided we and others like us are true to our duty and speak out in condemnation of horrid crimes. America cannot choose at will. We have made professions, we have assumed an attitude, we have taken upon

ourselves responsibility, we have declared ourselves the champions of freedom. Ah! Remember across the half century, the words of Lincoln: "Four score and seven years ago our Fathers brought forth upon this Continent a new nation conceived in liberty, and dedicated to the proposition that all men are created equal." They came here across the stormy seas in their little boats and braved the rigors of winter and the perils of savage foes that they might be free. Some of us remember how they gave their lives that the blacks might be free. It was the spirit of freedom that took the pioneers across the mountains and the plains and the rivers, and gave this vast continent to the reign of law and justice and peace. We have cherished ideals, we have had dreams, we have had ideals of a world made better and happier and nobler because America was a free democracy. We cannot remain silent now while these poor Belgians, without fault, are carried into slavery, without abjuring our past, and being false to our country.

"Land where my fathers died,
Land of the Pilgrim's pride,
From every mountain side,
Let Freedom ring!

Our Father's God to Thee,
Author of Liberty,
To Thee we sing.
Long may our land be bright,
With Freedom's holy light."

One cannot be an American, with the history of America, without responsibility, and that responsibility confronts the people of our country today to protect the spirit of American freedom. We have grown rich beyond the dreams of avarice. So prosperous, so many millions of automobiles, such palaces, such comforts, such luxury! Intellect has been trained, education broadcast over the land, peace preserved! Ah! Are we so sunk in comfort and luxury and self-satisfaction, that we have lost the old spirit of American freedom?

If we have not, we shall not dare remain silent over this latest wrong to Belgium.

Let me read the effective words of that great-hearted and noble Prelate, whose figure, appealing to all that is best in

humanity throughout the world, fearless of the mighty power that seeks to constrain him, will make the name of Cardinal Mercier great in history. Let me read from his pathetic appeal: "We, the shepherds of these sheep who are torn from us by brutal force, full of anguish at the thought of the moral and religious isolation in which they are about to languish, impotent witnesses of the grief and terror in the numerous homes shattered or threatened, appeal to all souls, believers or unbelievers, in allied countries, in neutral countries, and even in enemy countries, who have a respect for human dignity. May Divine Providence deign to inspire all who have any authority, all who are masters of speech and pen, to rally round our humble Belgian flag for the abolition of European slavery."

Thank Heaven our President has assumed the leadership of the free opinion of the American democracy, and has spoken for it to Germany. All honor to him for it, and it is for us to say, as I for my part say, that we, will stand by him, support him, approve him in maintaining the application of the free principles of America in insisting upon respect and obedience to the law which protects all weak and peaceable nations, and in protesting, with all the power of the hundred millions of America against the outrage upon humanity which has been done.

We may not be, in the words of Cardinal Mercier, "masters of speech and pen", but we are masters of our souls, and we are part of the great self-governing people of America, and we can speak, and we can speak so clear and high that the world will hear it, and that all right-minded and compassionate men and women will follow it and will join with us until the voice of the public opinion of the world will satisfy the most hardhearted tyrant of them all that wrongs such as these are punished by the universal condemnation of mankind.

THE RESOLUTIONS

The Chairman: You are asked now to adopt a set of resolutions. They are offered by the one who has insisted on keeping in the background, but who himself proposed and deserves all the credit for bringing about this great expression of public

opinion, which we hope may echo far and near, Mr. Whitridge. The resolutions will be read to you by the head of one of our great universities, who has not hesitated to stand out for the ideas expressed here tonight, and for the principles of true Americanism—President Hibben of Princeton University! (Applause.)

PRESIDENT JOHN GRIER HIBBEN: Mr. Chairman, Ladies and Gentlemen: I am here tonight not merely in my own personal capacity, but representing 150 Members of the Princeton faculty, who, three weeks ago, signed a petition, sent to the President of the United States, protesting against the German outrages in Belgium in carrying away these poor, miserable sufferers into slavery.

In presenting our Princeton petition here and there, I was met by only one person who hesitated to sign it, and he gave as his reason that he wished to preserve the spirit of "neutrality", and I said in reply, "There can never be neutrality between right and wrong." (Applause.)

And it was in that spirit that the 150 members of the Princeton faculty sent their protest to the President of the United States. (Applause.)

The resolutions were drawn by Mr. Whitridge, and are as follows:

"WHEREAS the world has been appalled by the reports from Belgium of the deportation into bondage of thousands of the non-combatant population; and

"WHEREAS these reports are uncontradicted and the depopulation appears to be a deliberate breach of the promises made by the German authorities to induce the Belgians to return to their own country; and

"WHEREAS we learn from the highest authority that the reports in the press of the cruelties perpetrated are not overdrawn, but are really understated; and

"WHEREAS although the German authorities say that the deficiency of work in Belgium is due to the laziness and ill-will of the Belgians, it is known that hundreds of thousands of tons of provisions, machinery and supplies of all kinds have

been removed to Germany, to say nothing of the millions of dollars taken away by fines and indemnities from these poor people, who, robbed of all their resources, are now being driven off in hordes under the pretense that they are ungovernable and will not work;

"Therefore, be it

"RESOLVED: That we American citizens assembled in public meeting at Carnegie Hall, New York, express our abhorrence of these fresh outrages and violations of the laws of war, the law of nations and the instincts of common humanity, deliberately perpetrated by the German Government, and that we extend our sympathy to the unfortunate people thus made the victims of the calculated cruelty of the conquerors of an innocent nation.

"RESOLVED: That we request the Government of the United States to protest with all its force and earnestness against these outrages; to emphasize the detestation with which the American people regard these abuses; and to request the German Government in the name of all neutrals, to cease its policy of expatriation and slavery; and we pledge our utmost support to the Administration in whatever way it may conclude to act.

"RESOLVED: That copies of these resolutions be sent to all the representatives of the German Government who can be reached in this country." (~~Great~~ applause.)

THE CHAIRMAN: I will now put the resolution and ask you to vote upon it, expressing your vote in favor of it in the usual manner, and with the understanding that there is especial emphasis on the word "act".

(Applause and cries of "Act, act!")

AMERICA

We will now join, before we leave, in singing "America", and I ask you to sing it with the prayer in your hearts that this meeting may have started a fire in this land which shall not be extinguished until American honor is vindicated, and until justice is done in Belgium. (Great applause.)

The audience arose and joined in singing "America", accompanied by the band.

HONORARY VICE-PRESIDENTS

Lyman Abbott
Frederick H. Allen
Edmund L. Baylies
Robert Bacon
Otto Bannard
James M. Beck
S. R. Bertron
Cornelius N. Bliss
John M. Bowers
Robert Bridges
Bishop C. H. Burch
George W. Burleigh
Nicholas Murray Butler
William Allen Butler
Benjamin T. Cable
Rev. Dr. S. Parkes Cadman
Robert W. Chambers
Joseph H. Choate
Frederic R. Coudert
Paul D. Cravath
R. Fulton Cutting
H. P. Davison
Robert W. DeForest
Chauncey M. Depew
Rev. Dr. Howard Duffield
Coleman Dupont
Allen W. Evarts
Charles S. Fairchild
Samuel W. Fairchild
W. Cameron Forbes
Henry C. Frick
Bishop D. H. Greer
Daniel Guggenheim
William D. Guthrie
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A. J. Hemphill
A. B. Hepburn
Dr. J. G. Hibben
Henry Holt
Wm. D. Howells
Charles E. Hughes
Adrian Iselin
Rev. Dr. J. H. Jowett
A. D. Juillard
D. P. Kingsley
Luther Kountze
E. H. Lacombe
Rev. Dr. Walter Laidlaw
Ivy L. Lee
Rev. Dr. W. T. Manning
Pierre Mali
Rev. Arthur F. Mabon
John G. Milburn
W. Fellowes Morgan
J. Pierpont Morgan
Delancey Nicoll
Morgan J. O'Brien
Stephen H. Olin
W. H. Page
Alton B. Parker
John M. Parker
William Barclay Parsons
General Horace Porter
George Haven Putnam
Douglas Robinson
W. Emlen Roosevelt
Elihu Root
Thomas F. Ryan
Herbert L. Satterlee
William Jay Schieffelin
Charles Scribner
Rev. Dr. C. L. Slattery
Francis Lynde Stetson
Henry L. Stimson
Lewis A. Stimson
Rev. Dr. E. M. Stires
Frederick Strauss
Willard Straight
Henry W. Taft
Cornelius Vanderbilt
F. A. Vanderlip
George T. Wilson
Judge Galbraith Ward
F. W. Whitridge
George W. Wickersham

Joseph Bucklin Bishop,
Acting Secretary

LETTER TO REPRESENTATIVES OF THE GERMAN GOVERNMENT IN THE UNITED STATES

In accordance with the resolutions, the following letter, with enclosures, was sent to each of the persons named below:

New York, December 18, 1916.

Sir:

At a mass meeting held in this City on Friday evening, December 15th, in pursuance of the enclosed advertisement, resolutions were adopted, a copy of which I have the honor, in accordance with the terms thereof, to send you herewith.

Yours very truly,

Joseph Bucklin Bishop,
Acting Secretary.

Count J. H. von Bernstorff,	Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary, Imperial German Embassy,	Washington, D. C.
Robert DuMont,	German Consul,	Mobile, Ala.
Franz Bopp,	Consul General,	San Francisco, Cal.
P. W. Weidner,	German Consul,	Los Angeles, Cal.
Kurt Ziegler,	"	Denver, Colo.
Gerhard Rolfs,	"	Pensacola, Fla.
Wilhelm Mueller,	"	Atlanta, Ga.
Ernst Eichhorn,	"	Savannah, Ga.
Alfred Geissler,	Consul General,	Chicago, Ill.
Paul Roh,	German Consul,	New Orleans, La.
Carl A. Luderitz,	"	Baltimore, Md.
Oswald Kunhardt,	"	Boston, Mass.
Johannes Grunow,	"	St. Paul, Minn.
Wilhelm Breitling,	"	St. Louis, Mo.
Erich Hossenfelder,	"	Wilmington, N. C.
Johann Giescher,	"	" "
Oscar Mezger,	"	Cincinnati, Ohio
Fritz Kirchhoff,	"	Portland, Oregon
George Stobbe,	"	Philadelphia, Pa.
Arthur Mudra,	"	" "
Emil Jahnz,	"	Charleston, S. C.
Henry J. Rungl,	"	Galveston, Texas
Emil Carl Vietor,	"	Richmond, Va.
Erich Zoepffel,	"	Seattle, Wash.
Otto Richter,	German Vice-Consul,	Tacoma, Wash.
Paul Falcke,	German Consul General,	New York, N. Y.
Karl Kramer,	German Vice-Consul,	Port Arthur, Texas
L. M. von Schilling,	"	Newport News, Va.
Herr Duddenhausen,	"	Port Richmond, Wash.

CARDINAL MERCIER'S APPEAL

MALINES, Nov. 7, 1916.

Every day the military authorities deport from Belgium into Germany thousands of inoffensive citizens to oblige them there to perform forced labor.

As early as Oct. 19 we sent to the Governor General a protest, a copy of which was handed to the representatives of the Holy See, of Spain, the United States, and Holland, in Brussels, but the Governor General replied to it that nothing could be done.

At the time of our protestation the orders of the occupying power threatened only the unemployed; today every ablebodied man is carried off, pellmell, assembled in freight cars, and carried off to unknown parts, like a herd of slaves. The enemy proceeds by regions. Vague rumors had come to our ears that arrests had been made in Tournau, Ghent, and Alost, but we were not aware of the conditions under which they had been made. Between Oct. 24 and Nov. 2 it occurred in the region of Mons, Quievrain, Saint Guislain, Jemappes, in bunches of 800 to 1,200 men a day. The next and the following days it occurred in the Arrondissment of Nivelles. Here is a specimen of the announcement concerning the proceedings:

"By order of the Kreischef every male person over 17 years old shall present himself, Place Saint Paul, in Nivelles, on Nov. 8, 1916, at 8 o'clock, (Belgian time,) 9 o'clock, (Central time,) bringing with him his identification card and eventually his card from the Meldeamt.

"Only small hand baggage is permitted.

"Those not presenting themselves will be forcibly deported into Germany, and will besides be liable to a heavy fine and to long imprisonment.

"Ecclesiastics, physicians, lawyers and teachers are exempt from this order.

"The Mayors will be held responsible for the proper execution of this order, which must be brought immediately to the knowledge of the inhabitants."

Between the announcement and the deportation there is an interval of only twenty-four hours.

Under pretext of public works to be performed on Belgian soil, the occupying power had attempted to obtain from the communities the lists of workingmen out of work. Most of the communities proudly refused.

Three decrees from the General Government prepared the way for the execution which is in force today.

Under date of Aug. 15, 1915, a first decree imposed, under penalty of imprisonment and fine, forced work on the idle, but adds that the work is to be executed in Belgium, and that non-compliance will be adjudged by Belgian tribunals.

A second decree, dated May 2, 1916, reserves the right of the German authorities to supply work to the idle, and threatens a fine of three years' imprisonment and 20,000 marks imposable on anybody executing or ordering to be executed work not approved of by the General Government.

Under the same decree, the right to judge infractions which had remained with the Belgian tribunals passes from the Belgian to the German tribunals.

A third decree, dated May 13, 1916, "authorizes the Governors, the military commanders, and the chiefs of arrondissments to order that the unemployed be conducted by force to the places where they must work." This was already forcible working, although in Belgium.

Now it is no longer a question of forcible working in Belgium, but in Germany, and for the benefit of the Germans.

To give an appearance of plausibility to these violent measures, the occupying power insisted in the German press, both in Germany and Belgium, on these two pretexts: the unemployed constitute a danger to public order and a burden on official benevolence.

To this we replied in a letter addressed to the Governor General and to the head of the Political Department on Oct. 16, as follows:

"You are well aware that public order is in no wise threatened and that all influences, moral and civil, would support you spontaneously were it in danger. The unemployed are not a burden on official benevolence; it is not from your funds that they receive assistance."

In his reply the Governor General no longer urges these two first considerations, but he alleges that "doles to the unemployed, from whatever source they may come at present, must finally be a charge upon our finances, and that it is the duty of a good administrator to lighten such charges"; he adds that "prolonged unemployment would cause our workmen to lose their technical proficiency, and that in the time of peace to come they would be useless to industry."

True, there were other ways in which our finances might have been protected. We might have been spared those war levies which have now reached the sum of one billion francs, and are still mounting up at the rate of forty millions a month; we might have been spared those requisitions in kind, which amount to several thousands of millions, and are exhausting us.

There are other ways of providing for the maintenance of professional skill among our workpeople such as leaving to Belgian industry its machinery and accessories, its raw materials, and its manufactured goods, which have passed from Belgium into Germany. And it is neither to the quarries nor to the lime kilns to which the Germans themselves declare they will send our unemployed, that our specialists will go to complete their professional education.

The naked truth is that every deported workman is another soldier for the German Army. He will take the place of a German workman, who will be made into a soldier. Thus the situation which we denounce to the civilized world may be reduced to these terms: Four hundred thousand workmen have been thrown out of work by no fault of their own, and largely on account of the régime of the occupation. Sons, husbands, and fathers of families, they bear their unhappy lot without murmuring, respectful of public order; national solidarity provides their most pressing wants; by dint of unselfish thrift and self-denial they escape extreme destitution, and they await with dignity and in a mutual affection which our national sorrows have intensified, the end of our common ordeal

Groups of soldiers introduced themselves forcibly in the homes of these people, tearing the young people out of the arms of their parents, the husband from his wife, the father from his

children; at the point of the bayonet they block the entrances to the homes, preventing wives and mothers from rushing out to say a last farewell to them; they align the captives in groups of forty or fifty and push them forcibly into freight cars; the locomotive is under pressure, and as soon as a trainload is ready, an officer gives the signal and they depart. Thus another thousand Belgians reduced to slavery, without previous trial, condemned to the penalty which comes next in cruelty to the death penalty—deportation. They don't know how long their exile is going to last, neither do they know where they are going. All they know is that their work will benefit the enemy. Several of them have been brought to sign—by coercion or by threats—an engagement which they dare to call "voluntary".

While they certainly take the unemployed, they also take a large number—in the proportion of one quarter for the Arrondissement of Mons—of men who were never out of work and belonging to diversified professions—butchers, bakers, tailors, brewery workers, electricians, farmers; they even take the youngest men, college and university students, or young men from other high schools.

This in spite of the fact that two high authorities of the German Empire had formally guaranteed the liberty of our compatriots.

The day after the capitulation of Antwerp the frightened populace asked itself what would become of the Belgians of military age or those which would arrive at that age before the end of the siege. Baron von Huene, Military Governor of Antwerp, authorized me to reassure in his name the frightened parents. However, as rumors were running that in Antwerp, Liége, Namur, and Charleroi young men had been seized and forcibly carried off to Germany, I asked Governor von Huene to confirm to me in writing the verbal guarantees which he had given me. He replied that the rumors pertaining to deportations were without foundation, and he gave me without hesitancy the written declaration which was read on Sunday, October 1, 1914, in all the parochial churches of the Arrondissement of Antwerp: "Young men need have no fear of being carried off to Germany, either for enrollment in the army or for forcible employment."

Immediately after the arrival of Baron von der Goltz in the capacity of Governor General at Brussels, I went to ask him to ratify the guarantees given by Governor von Huene to the Province of Antwerp, extending them to the whole country, without any time limit. The Governor General retained my petition in order to consider it at his leisure. The following day he was good enough to come in person to Malines to express his approval and, in the presence of two aides de camp and of my private secretary, to confirm the promise that the liberty of the Belgian citizens would be respected.

In my letter of October 16 last to Baron von Bissing, after reminding him of the undertaking given by his predecessor, I concluded: "Your Excellency will understand how painful the burden of responsibility I should have incurred toward families would be if the confidence they placed in you through me and at my earnest entreaty should be so lamentably disappointed."

The Governor General replied: "The employment of the Belgian unemployed in Germany, which has only been initiated after two years of war, differs essentially from the captivity of men fit for military service. Moreover, the measure is not related to the conduct of the war, properly speaking, but it is determined by social and economic causes."

As if the word of an honest man was terminable at the end of a year or two! As if the declaration confirmed in 1914 did not explicitly exclude both military operations and forced labor! As if, in fine every Belgian workman who takes the place of a German workman did not enable the latter to fill a gap in the German Army!

We, the shepherds of these sheep who are torn from us by brutal force, full of anguish at the thought of the moral and religious isolation in which they are about to languish, impotent witnesses of the grief and terror in the numerous homes shattered or threatened, appeal to all souls, believers or unbelievers, in allied countries, in neutral countries, and even in enemy countries, who have a respect for human dignity.

When Cardinal Lavigerie embarked on his anti-slavery campaign, Pope Leo XIII., as he blessed his mission, remarked: "Opinion is more than ever the queen of the world. It is on

this you must work. You will only conquer by means of opinion."

May Divine Providence deign to inspire all who have any authority, all who are masters of speech and pen, to rally around our humble Belgian flag for the abolition of European slavery.

May human conscience triumph over all sophisms and remain steadfastly faithful to the great precept of St. Ambrose: Honor above everything! *Nihil praeferendum honestati!*

In the name of the Belgian Bishops.

(Signed) D. J. Cardinal Mercier,
Archbishop of Malines.

ADDRESS BY THE CARDINAL IN BRUSSELS, Nov. 26.

The four or five weeks that I have just passed have been perhaps the most painful of my life, the most anguishing of my episcopal career. The fathers and mothers who are pressing about this pulpit will understand me.

I have seen hundreds of my flock in peril and in tears. During three days, on Sunday, Monday and Tuesday last, from morn to eve, I went about the regions whence the foremost workmen and artisans of my diocese were taken by force into exile. At Wavrecourt, St. Etienne, Nivelles, Tubize, and Braine l'Alleud I entered more than a hundred half empty homes. Husbands were absent, children were orphans, sisters, sad-eyed, and with inert arms, sat beside their sewing machines. A gloomy silence reigned in these cottages. It was as though there were a corpse in the house. But hardly had I addressed a word of sympathy to the mother when there was an outburst of sobs and lamentations, of angry tones, with movements of magnificent pride.

The memory of these heartbreaking scenes never leaves me. I would like to hurry to Antwerp, Tirlemont, Dieste—wherever they are repeated, wherever there is sorrow to assuage, tears to dry, hearts to console. But I cannot. Eager to do it though I am, I have neither the strength nor the time. Therefore, dear brethren, I thought I would come to you, in the centre of my diocese and of our country.

I say to you, my brethren, without hate or a spirit of reprisal, that I should be unworthy of this episcopal ring which the Church placed upon my finger, and of this cross which she placed upon my breast if, obeying a human passion, I hesitated to proclaim that law violated remains none the less law and that injustice based on force is none the less injustice.

But peace is only possible in order, and order reposes on justice and charity. We want order, and it is for this reason that from the very first day I asked that no active resistance be opposed to the power of occupation and that regulations which did not violate our Christian conscience or our patriotic dignity be submitted to without revolt.

However, the occupying power ought also to desire order; that is, to say, respect of our rights and of our engagements. Man in a civilized country has a right to freedom of his labor. He has a right to his home. He has a right to reserve his services for his fatherland.

1317W

Our Present Duty as Americans and Christians

A SERMON

Preached in Trinity Church, New York

BY THE RECTOR

William T. Manning, S. T. D.

Septuagesima Sunday, February 4, 1917.

Printed by Request

OUR PRESENT DUTY AS AMERICANS AND CHRISTIANS.

"The waves of the sea are mighty, and rage horribly, and yet the Lord, Who dwelleth on high is mightier." Psalm 93:5

We gather here today for prayer and worship on this historic spot, with a deep sense of responsibility resting upon all of us.

We are face to face with a situation which demands high things of us both as citizens and as Christians. It is one of the most serious moments in the history of our country. It is not a time for fear, or doubt or misgiving. It is a time for wise judgment, for clear vision and for firm purpose.

In the Providence of God, our Government has been suddenly compelled to take a definite position as to the issues involved in the world war. An issue has been presented to us as a nation which we are called upon to meet, calmly and unfalteringly, for the sake of the eternal principles of right, for the sake of our own honor, and for the sake of the future of the world. Certainly no one can say that our country has sought this issue.

Many of us have felt, and felt keenly, that we have been too complaisant towards flagrant and inhuman wrong-doing, too unwilling to take a clear position between plain right and wrong, too apathetic and indifferent to the tremendous moral issues at stake in this great conflict.

Many of us have believed, and said, that in our desire to be neutral, and to continue in friendly relation with all sides we were being carried to the point of compromise with evil and sacrifice of fundamental principle.

Many of us have believed, and said, that a firmer policy, and a stronger protest on our part against some of the unspeakable deeds which have been committed would have brought help and relief to others, who are now suffering most cruel oppression, and would have been a safer, as well as a higher, course for our own land.

But now all this belongs to the past. Today we stand absolutely united behind our Government in the action which it has taken, and in any further action which it may be called upon to take.

We have been to some extent divided by racial antecedents, political affiliations, varying views and opinions. Today we are all of us Americans, and nothing but Americans, without disfiguring adjectives, or divided interests.

Whatever his racial origin, his personal prejudices, his private views, every man and woman in our land, of every party, creed and name, stands now only for our own country and our own flag.

Let none of us for an instant feel any doubt as to this in regard to any of our fellow countrymen. Even though there should be cases of individual disloyalty, let us not allow the act of an unbalanced person here or there to cause us to suspect classes or groups of people. To do so would be cruel, harmful and unjust. Even those whom we may have regarded as on the wrong side will all be on the right side now. There is now only one side, the side of America and her just and righteous cause. And if it should come to actual warfare there will be no more loyal Americans than our fellow citizens of German antecedents, whose natural feeling for their fatherland we ought all to respect and honor.

Let no one imagine, no one can imagine, that, as a nation, we have any ill will to Germany, or to the German people. We know that there is a Germany far different from the one that has been in evidence in the past two and a half years. We do not wish to see Germany destroyed or annihilated. We wish only to see Germany freed from that evil influence which has brought such calamity upon her, and upon the world, and which has now misled her into this last desperate and fatal course.

We hope even yet to see the true Germany arise and free herself from that malign power. But either by her own act, or by the act of others, she must be delivered and set free from it, and we believe that in the better days to come Germany herself will see that it was right and necessary for her own well being, as well as for that of the world, that this power should be overthrown.

And certainly no nation is further than our own from loving or desiring war. We recognize its horror and its cruelty. We know that it comes always from the selfish and wicked passions of men. We know that in an ideal world, a world wholly Christian, there would be no war.

But this does not mean that it is wrong to go to war to resist wicked and lawless aggression any more than it is wrong to resist and restrain the burglar and the murderer. There has been a good deal of well meaning but false and morally harmful teaching in our country under the name of Pacificism. This teaching has confused the minds of some of our people, it has misrepresented the Christian Religion, and it has done some injury to our national life.

War is always a great evil, to be avoided, prevented, eliminated just so far as this is possible. But the much quoted saying that there never was a good war, nor a bad

peace, is pernicious, sordid and untrue. There are cases in which peace is immeasurably worse than war. There are cases in which war is right and peace is wrong and shameful. There is a worship of peace which means the surrender of principle and the decay of manhood. There are things which we may not sacrifice even for the sake of peace.

If you watch carefully the results of the Pacifist teaching you will see that its tendency is to dull the conscience, to weaken the moral judgment, to make people disinclined to take a clear position between right and wrong, and to lead them to put their desire for peace above the supreme claims of righteousness and justice.

Let me repeat what I have said before: the New Testament does not teach peace at any price, the New Testament teaches righteousness at any cost, and this is an immeasurably higher doctrine.

In this crisis of the world war our Government has now taken its position against open lawlessness, ruthless disregard of right and unprovoked aggression.

Whatever the next days, or the next hours, may bring forth, we shall be ready to meet our responsibility. This great nation takes its stand with no feeling of hatred towards any, though we loathe and abhor and utterly condemn some of the deeds that have been committed, and are still being committed. We cherish no feeling of anger nor of ill will, but with God's help we will, if need be, do our part as Americans and as Christians, to help to put down this evil. And we will do it, if it be so ordered, with clear conscience, and with high purpose, as a service that is required of us, and as a duty that we must discharge to God, to the world, and to ourselves.

The Easter Call to America

A SERMON

Preached in Trinity Church, New York

BY THE RECTOR

William T. Manning, S. T. D.

Easter Day, April 8, 1917.

Printed by Request

THE EASTER CALL TO AMERICA.

Now is Christ risen from the dead, I Cor. XV, v 20.

This is the great Day of the Resurrection. This is the day on which Jesus Christ, the Eternal Son of God, Who was crucified for our sakes and lay in the tomb, arose up, and came forth out of the grave, and broke the power of death forever.

The coming forth of Jesus Christ out of that tomb changed the world. It was the turning point in history. That one sure fact of His Resurrection has given all human life a new meaning. It tells us that good is stronger than evil, that life is stronger than death, that love is mightier than hate. It tells us that right and truth and justice shall never be permanently defeated, that even though they may be crucified, and laid in the tomb, they will rise again stronger and more invincible than ever.

This is the Divine message of Easter. This is the assurance of the Resurrection. It is this which created the Christian Church, which changed the whole course of the world, which brought a new and resistless power into the lives of men, which for two thousand years has given comfort to those who mourn, and which rings out to-day in Creed and Hymn and Anthem, with the same glorious certainty as on every Easter since the first.

But none of us have ever known an Easter Day like this one. The Easter message to-day has a new depth of meaning for us as our country now rises to answer the clear call of God, to give itself to a great service, to perform, at whatever cost, a solemn and inexorable duty.

It is deeply significant that the final step committing us, as a nation, to share in this world conflict was taken on Good Friday, the day on which the one great sacrifice was offered for all the world.

For it is in the spirit of sacrifice, of desire to help and serve, of desire to share the common suffering and the common burden, and not merely to protect our own interests, that we have taken our stand. Never did any people enter a war with less desire for aggression upon others, with less desire for selfish advantage, or for material gain. I believe it is true to say that no such thought is in the mind of any American. We have been forced either to give our encouragement and support to flagrant and inhuman wrong doing, or actively, and posi-

tively, to aid in repressing it. We have been compelled to choose between actual complicity with evil, or sharing in the work of restraining and subduing it.

To have refrained longer from action would have meant failure to meet our responsibility as a nation, a supine indifference between right and wrong, selfish acceptance of protection through the sacrifice and suffering of others, and shameful unwillingness to uphold those principles upon which our life as a nation, and the hope of the world depend.

Christianity is the religion of love. But love can express itself just as truly through the right use of physical force as through mental or spiritual force. It is not a proof of love to stand inert and see the weak and innocent brutally assaulted, or to allow violence and crime to have their way in this world unchecked.

The man who risks his life to protect women and children from the attack of a maniac performs an act of love just as really as the man who fights disease, or the man who gives comfort to the sick and dying.

The soldier in the trenches may be as Christ like in his sacrifice as the doctor, the nurse, or the priest.

It is a strange moral blindness, and mental confusion, which can see in the war, in which we are now engaged, only a counterpart of the ancient strifes for lust of conquest, for greed of territory, or for dynastic ambition. All nations, our own included, have sinned in this way in the past. Not one can show a clear record. But in this present conflict the issue is clearly drawn between righteousness and unrighteousness.

This is a war against war. It is a war to oppose and restrain autocratic might and ruthless brutality. It is a war for truth, for righteousness, for justice, for humanity. It is a struggle for the truths and principles declared and upheld in this world by the Risen Christ.

For nearly three years the world has suffered the darkness and agony of Crucifixion. The struggle is not yet ended. We are called now to take our part in it. And our acceptance of a share in the sacrifice will, we trust, help to bring speedier peace, with full and decisive victory for the right.

And already in the midst of the strife and blood and death we can see the Easter light shining. Already we can see the new and more glorious life rising out of the grave. The measureless sufferings, the bitter tears, the

untold sacrifices have not been in vain. Already we see that they are to issue in a new world order, a new brotherhood of mankind, a new day for the world.

Who can think without emotion of the sudden and complete emancipation of Russia, of the glad rush homeward of those captives from Siberia, of the forces that must now be felt, and are even now at work in Germany, to free her from the monstrous influences which have so misled her, and to bring her back reborn, and in her right mind to her place among the brotherhood of peoples.

May the day of resurrection and reconciliation come soon, and may we accept bravely and unshrinkingly our share of the suffering and sacrifice that is to bring it.

Because we believe in the message of Easter, because we believe that the whole world is to shine with the glory of the Risen Christ, we are willing and glad to take our part and share in this conflict.

The soul of America never uttered itself more nobly and truly than as she rises to take this action.

The Statue of Liberty, standing in our harbour, has to-day a new and more glorious meaning than it has ever had.

Without fear and without hate, with calmness, but with full, firm purpose, as Christians, and as Americans, as men and women who desire only what is best and truest for our fellow men throughout the world, we will give and consecrate our whole strength to this cause.

And may the trials and experiences of these coming days teach us, as a people, lessons that we need to learn. May the stern discipline of war bring us a new sense of duty, a new and deeper love for our country, a new and truer love for our fellow men.

And when the war is ended may this love show itself in the determination to bring about, here in our own country, the fullest possible measure of justice and of brotherhood. May the sufferings, the willing sacrifices, the close fellowship, the common action of war, make us see the folly and the wrong of our too great care for wealth, our economic injustices, our class distinctions, our brutal antagonisms between capital and labour.

Let us resolve now that a way shall be found for us to be brothers, not only in time of war, but in the more trying time of prosperity and peace. Let this new vision of world brotherhood bring us a vision, higher and holier

than ever before, of what life ought to be, and can be, here in America if we will all stand and work together for the principles of the Risen Christ, for freedom, for justice, for duty, and for religion.

History has shown us again and again how God turns our evil into good, how He transforms the blackness of Calvary into the light and joy of Easter, how He maketh even the wrath of man to praise Him.

Criminal as was the motive of this war, base and unspeakable as was the sin of forcing it upon the world, black and abhorrent as have been the deeds connected with this act, yet, out of it have come, and are coming, mighty and unmeasured influences for the good of men.

A war begun in the interests of military despotism has set free and brought into active movement undreamed of forces for lasting peace and brotherhood, for world wide democracy, for the liberation of mankind. We may well be willing, aye proud and thankful, to bear our part in this great world movement.

None of us can measure or imagine the results that are to spring from it. One thing we know with certainty, the world will never be the same again. Things will never be again as they were before. Please God they never shall be!

We stand at the beginning of a new age, a new epoch for the world. Let us all be ready and prepared to hail and welcome it, and to bear our joyful part in it. Let us ask that it may bring two things to America, as it surely will bring them. May it bring us a full realization of our world citizenship, of our responsibility as a member of the great family of nations, of our common fellowship with all mankind. Never again must there be any talk of our isolation, our separateness, as though we were a people dwelling apart and aloof from the world. And may it bring us for ourselves, here in our own beloved land, a new vision of the meaning of democracy, a state founded and built up in the love of God, a human brotherhood and fellowship blessed and beautified, made strong and holy and complete, in the bond that is in Christ.

"In the beauty of the lilies, Christ was born across the sea
With a glory in His bosom that transfigures you and me;
As He died to make men holy, let us die to make men free,
While God is marching on."

The Women of America in the War

A SERMON

Preached in Trinity Church, New York

BY THE RECTOR

William T. Manning, S. T. D.

at

A Special Service under the Auspices of the
Daughters of the Cincinnati

Sunday, April 15, 1917.

Printed by the Society

THE WOMEN OF AMERICA IN THE WAR.

The Lord reigneth; the world also shall be established that it shall not be moved. He shall judge the people righteously.
Psalm 96; v. 10.

There was never a more fitting moment for a service such as this one held under the auspices of the Daughters of the Cincinnati and attended by the representatives of other Patriotic Societies. And, in our whole land, there is no place more appropriate for such a gathering than this historic Church, made sacred to all of us by its associations with the whole life of our country, this spot where close about us lie the bodies of Alexander Hamilton, of glorious James Lawrence of the Chesapeake, and of others worthy to be named with them.

This is an hour that speaks to the soul of every American. For nearly three years we have watched the progress of a war such as was never before seen. On a scale hitherto unknown, with its field of action extended to the sky and the depths of the sea, with its deadliness and terror increased by every resource of modern knowledge, and every development of science, the struggle has continued until it involves practically the whole world.

From the beginning, many of us have realized that the issue of this conflict was of as deep concern to us as to any people in the world. The progress of events has made this more and more clear. The brutal assault on Belgium, the martyrdom of Serbia, the miseries of Poland, the unspeakable treatment of Armenia, have filled us with horror and indignation. The lawless invasion of our own liberties, the ruthless sinking of our vessels, the murder of our men and women and children on the sea, have brought this outbreak of crime to our own door.

We have been forced to realize that this war is an attack on the very principles of civilization, that it is a "warfare against mankind." We have been compelled to see that a world dominated by the principles of Prussian Militarism would be a world unfit to live in. It would be a world of brute force, of ruthless aggression, of broken oaths, of "military necessity" regarded as superior to every consideration of law, of right and of humanity. And now the call has come to us to unsheathe the sword, and to take our place, as a nation, beside those who are giving their lives to save the world. It is indeed a solemn call, but it is one as to which no one who has in him the spirit of an American can be in one moment's doubt. It is the call of our country. It is the call of honour and true manhood. It is the call of righteousness and justice. It is the call of God Himself.

We are summoned to uphold those principles of right, and of human freedom, for which the founders of this Republic felt it a privilege to give their lives. We are

summoned to do our part to make the world "safe for democracy." In the words of the President of the United States, replying to the message of the President of the French Republic, we are called to "stand as partners of the noble democracies whose aims and acts make for the perpetuation of the rights and freedom of man, and for the safeguarding of the true principles of liberty."

No nation is further than our own from loving, or desiring, war. We feel more keenly than ever before its cruelty, its needlessness, its horror. We know that in an ideal world, a world wholly believing in, and obedient to, Jesus Christ, there would be no war. We desire to do everything in our power to remove its causes, and to lessen its likelihood. But because we abhor war, because we love and believe in peace, we must give our whole power and strength to this conflict. There can be no peace in a world menaced by the power of Prussianism. As Christians, and as Americans, we enter this war not merely to defend our own rights, or our own interests, but to help put down hideous and infamous wrong, and to secure right and justice and lasting peace for the world.

At this service for the Daughters of the Cincinnati, it is fitting that I should say something as to the part of our women in this war.

What may we look for, at this time, from the women of our land? We may look, and we shall never look in vain, to see our women as resolute, as fearless, as resourceful, as high-souled, as true Americans, as the men beside whom they stand. It is true, we all know, that the heaviest, and most tragic, burden of war falls on the women. The men face hardship, suffering, wounds and death. The women face things worse than death. Even though spared the worst that war may bring, they must face the loneliness, the cruel losses, the hard struggle to preserve the home, and to hold together the essentials of life, without the excitement and stimulus of camp or battlefield.

The mothers and wives and daughters of France and Britain have not faltered. They have met their call with a spirit that has thrilled the world. And we know full well what the women of America will do. Never before have women borne so great a part in the work of war. Let me speak of only a few of the ways in which the women of our country can bear their part:

1. Help all with whom you come in contact, to see calmly, but clearly, the supreme issues at stake in this conflict. Stand openly and definitely against the moral blindness, and sentimental weakness, known as Pacifism. We have been too tolerant of this false teaching. It has done some harm to our people. It has taught some of them to be cold, and indifferent, when they should blaze

with moral indignation. Do not be deluded into supposing that its teachings are Christian. They are not so. The Christian is required to love righteousness and to hate iniquity. "O ye that love the Lord, see that ye hate the thing that is evil." Pacifism makes men blind to moral issues, and lukewarm between right and wrong. It is a good impulse carried to wild and harmful extremes. No American, no man or woman, who knows the facts, as we all do know them, has any right to be cold or unmoved in regard to the issues of this war. The President's Message to Congress makes this clear beyond all question. It is a statement upon which we all stand united and of which every American must be proud.

2. Use all your influence to encourage the men, your own men of your own families, to do their duty.

A special appeal is to be made to us all on Wednesday and Thursday of this week, the anniversaries of the "Ride of Paul Revere" and the "Lexington Alarm." We know that our men have still the spirit of those days. Do your part to strengthen this spirit in them. They will be largely what you expect them to be. Do not weaken them by any false sentimentality, or by mere excitement. It is a stern and high task to which they, and all of us, are called. Keep before yourselves, and before them, the true meaning of this great struggle, and the true ideal of what our American manhood and womanhood ought to be at this time. Let our men know that in answer to this call for service to our country, and to the world, the women of America say "Go."

3. Let every one of us, men and women alike, at once fit himself for, and stand ready to undertake, such special service as he can best perform. But let there be no undue excitement nor hysteria. Let us, each one, go on calmly and steadily with his own work. If each one of us will perform his or her daily, normal, task more faithfully and efficiently than ever, this is the first service required of us, and this will best fit us for the performance of special duty the moment we are called to it.

4. The women of our country can render a great service at this time by discouraging and discountenancing all forms of extravagance in dress or living. Self-indulgent luxury is never helpful to our lives as Americans. At this time it should be regarded as contrary to good citizenship and an offense against patriotism.

Mr. Hoover has recently spoken wise words to us as to the appalling waste of food in our American life. This ought at once to be stopped. For the sake of the world's need, and as a matter of patriotic duty, we ought to set ourselves immediately to check all waste and needless consumption, and to do whatever we can to increase the world's food supply.

It is our duty to bring this discipline now into our own homes, to put our individual lives on a war basis, to reduce our expenditures, and plan our economies, as a part of our war service and a duty to our country.

The war may yet be a long one. No one can tell as to this and we must be prepared. Its final issue may be one of resources. The supply of food for our allies, and to meet our own needs, may be an even more decisive factor than the supply of shells.

5. The women of America, with their strong moral conviction, and clear perception, can aid, and will aid, by standing for a strong and firm policy in the conduct of the war, such as our Government is wisely proposing. Use your influence for the most vigorous measures possible. This is the merciful and humane course. If we will now throw ourselves into the conflict with our whole might and power, this will mean a shortened war, a speedier peace, and the saving of hundreds of thousands of brave young lives at the battle front.

Use whatever influence you can, both as societies, and as individuals, to support the President in his just and proper measure for Conscription and Universal Service. Support this not only to meet the present emergency, but as the only true and adequate system for the defence of our country. It is the only effective system. It is the only democratic system. It is the only just system. It will bring unmeasured benefits, moral as well as physical, to the manhood and the whole life of our land.

And, last, when the need comes, as it probably will come, be ready to stand with all the strength and conviction of your womanhood against any proposal for an inconclusive and premature peace.

We do not wish to see Germany destroyed. But for the sake of Germany and of the world we must see to it that the power of Autocratic Militarism is completely crushed and defeated. There must be no stopping short of this. The world will not be safe until this is accomplished.

It is our solemn duty to mankind, and to ourselves, to the heroic dead who have given their lives a willing sacrifice, to the future and the children who will follow us, to perform now our full task, to help put down this evil once for all, to make a recurrence of it as unlikely as possible, and to lay the foundations firm for world brotherhood and lasting peace.

America will not stay her hand. Having entered upon this struggle, she will, with the help of God, continue it, at whatever cost, in fellowship with her brave allies, until the task is done.

When you have read this, please pass it on to a friend.

BULLETIN NO. 28 APRIL, 1917

THE AMERICAN RIGHTS LEAGUE

For Upholding the Duty of the Republic
in International Relations

AMERICA'S PART IN THE WORLD-WAR

BY WILLIAM T. MANNING, D.D., RECTOR OF TRINITY PARISH, N. Y.

A sermon preached April 22, 1917, in the Church of the Incarnation, before the New York Commandery of the Loyal Legion of the United States.

"We have heard with our ears, O God, our fathers have told us, what thou hast done in their time of old."—Psalm xliv, i.

At this grave moment in our nation's history I feel it a special privilege to speak to the members of this Society which stands so distinctively for the ideal of service to our country and of sacrifice, however great, for those principles of right, of liberty, and of justice to which the name of America is consecrated.

These are days to stir the soul of every American.

Our great country is at war. America has been forced to unsheathe the sword. She is calling now for the service of her sons. And she will not make that call in vain.

There is something immeasurably grand in the sight of a mighty nation calling her sons to give themselves, their lives, and all that they have, in a high and noble cause.

And in all history no nation ever gave herself to a higher cause than that which we now take up.

Some of us have felt, and said, that we ought to have taken our stand sooner, and I have myself been one of these, but we all feel now that when the call came it could not have been stated more adequately, more nobly, more compellingly than in the great message delivered by the President to Congress on the second day of April. We are prouder now than ever that we are Americans.

Old Glory waves to-day with a meaning, and with a message to the world, greater and more splendid than ever before. Not for any merely sordid or selfish reason, not with desire for territory nor for gain of any kind, but for the sake of right and justice, for the sake of our own homes, for the sake of our own honor and manhood, we have come forward to share the sacrifices of those who are fighting to put down a monstrous evil and to defend the freedom of the world. For nearly three years we have watched the foul and inhuman deeds in Belgium, in Serbia, in Northern France, in Armenia, and elsewhere. Day by day our wrath as a people has been rising. We have known that we could not continue to sit silent in the face of such things. The ruthless invasion of our own liberties, the deliberate sinking of our vessels, the murder of our men and women and children on the sea, have brought this orgy of crime home to us in all its meaning.

We strike now for the liberties of men everywhere, for the right of small nations to exist, for the institutions of democracy and freedom, for the right to a decent world to live in, for respect for the laws of God and of man.

Our watchwords in this fight are Belgium, Serbia, and the *Lusitania*. They stand for the things that we will no longer tolerate.

We make our own the words spoken by Mr. Asquith for Great Britain: "We shall never sheathe the sword until Belgium recovers all, and more than all, that she has sacrificed."

We have entered deliberately upon this great conflict. What then shall be our course now that we are engaged in it?

There is only one course that is safe, or wise, or worthy of us as a nation. We must devote to this struggle the utmost power of our resources, our energies, and our manhood.

We must not presume upon the hope that the struggle may soon be over, and that it is now nearing its end. Those best qualified to speak tell us that we cannot rely on this, and we have no right to rely upon it. How long the war may yet continue, or how great a part

we may be required to play in it, none can say. We must give our strength to it as though the issue depended wholly upon ourselves.

The French and British have been fighting great battles in the past weeks, and have made glorious gains. But they are only at the beginning of the fearful task of driving the invaders back.

We hope, and believe, that as a result of the Revolution, Russia will be stronger and more determined than ever. But who can say at this moment what may happen there?

We hear of food scarcity, and outbreaks, in Germany, but the German people have been trained for generations in obedience to autocratic rule, they still have enormous military strength, they are still capable of great efforts. We wish they would rise up and themselves overthrow those who have led them in this crime against the world, but there is no certainty that they will do this soon, or ever. The great British Fleet which, in silent, steadfast watch, and in valiant fight, has kept guard for the world these three and thirty months in the North Sea may continue to do this. We believe fully that it will. But in war nothing is certain. No man can predict. What if there should be some unlooked-for calamity; some sudden and even partly successful dash in force? Such an event might instantly mean emergency for us.

As Americans, and as true men, we must not rely on a possible breakdown of Germany, nor on a possible defense which the arms of others may continue to afford us, but on the fullest exercise and use of our own power. We owe this to ourselves, and we owe it also to our Allies. No other course is safe. No other course is honorable. No other course can even be considered.

1. We must make ourselves felt immediately in a military sense. We must strike at the earliest possible moment, and with all the force that we can gather. This is the only effective course, and it is the merciful and humane course. War having come, any other course is wicked and wanton folly.

A vigorous and determined prosecution of the war will do more than anything else to shorten it, and will save hundreds of thousands of brave lives. The time has come now for deeds, not words. The place for us now is at the front, in the thickest of the fight. Thank God, our flag is there already! Honor to that young Texan who carried it on the point of his bayonet up Vimy Ridge!

Honor to our brave fellows who are flying the Stars and Stripes

in the sky, from their aëroplanes above the battle lines! Honor to those who have already given their lives in the name of Liberty, and for the honor of America, Victor Chapman, Dillwyn Parrish Starr, Edmond Genet, Henry Suckley who was remembered in this Church this afternoon, and all the others!

Honor to the thousands of Americans who are at this moment fighting on the soil of France!

And honor to our men here at home who are already in the ranks, and to those who are enlisting in our Navy, and in our Army, in order to be over there at the front, with the others, at the first moment possible! I wish we might send on ahead a former President of the United States, a man whose name and whose spirit are known to all the warring nations, with his Division of volunteers, to land in France within the next few weeks, as an earnest of the way in which we intend to give ourselves to this struggle.

2. We must all do our part to increase and conserve the material resources of our country, for they may be sorely needed.

We must do this not unwisely, nor in panic, but with careful and well-considered method.

Certainly we should set ourselves at once to check all waste, and to put the ban on extravagance, and luxury, and self-indulgence. I believe that we should at once adopt Prohibition for the duration of the war. It would be helpful as a measure of food economy, and still more as a measure of discipline.

We are warned that the shortage of food may be a most vital factor in the war. The man who in the face of this squanders his means, and weakens both his body and his mind, by needless indulgence in eating, or in drinking, is as much a slacker as the man who marries in the hope of thus escaping military service.

3. We must no longer permit our counsels to be divided, and our spirit to be paralyzed, by the influence of the Pacifists. Some of these men are sincere and well-meaning, but their teaching is unbalanced and unsound, and it has done harm to our country. It is not true either to the highest instincts of the human heart, or to the principles of the Christian Religion. This teaching has made some of our people indifferent to moral issues and neutral between good and evil. There is nothing Christian about such an attitude as that. The Christian is one who loves righteousness and hates iniquity. "O ye that love the Lord, see that ye hate the thing that is

evil." The Christian Religion does not teach that crime is to have its way in this world unchecked and unpunished, nor that physical suffering and death are the worst of all evils. Not "peace at any price," but "righteousness at any cost," is the ideal of the Gospel. The Nietzsches and Bernhardis scoffed at Pacifism supposing this to be Christianity. They are learning the true power of the Christian religion in the courage and sacrifice of the soldiers of Great Britain and France. War is always a terrible thing, to be avoided, prevented, eliminated, just so far as this is possible. But the much-quoted saying that "there never was a good war, nor a bad peace," is pernicious, sordid, and untrue. There are cases in which peace is immeasurably worse than war. There are cases in which war is right and peace is wrong and shameful. There is a worship of peace which means the surrender of principle and the decay of manhood.

If England had not entered this war when Belgium was invaded she would have been a disgraced and dishonored nation. And if America had not now taken her stand for righteousness, as thank God she has done! it would have been at the cost of her own soul. The Pacifists misled England at the price to her of untold blood and treasure, and they have been misleading us as far as they could do so. They are still at work, opposing the necessary measures for our own defense, and for our effective participation in this struggle for righteousness and justice. The President's wise and right demand for conscription is now opposed in Congress by the same men who did all in their power to keep us from taking our true place and part in this war. Pacifism had its full illustration in the utterance of the first woman to sit in Congress—"I want to stand by my country, but I cannot vote for war." It is time for us to speak out with no uncertain voice against such mental and moral confusion, such misguided and dangerous sentimentality as this whether it be in men or in women, in Congress or out of it.

4. We must have Universal Military Training and Service, and we must have it not merely to meet the present emergency, but as the only proper permanent system of National defense. It is the only system that is adequate, just, and democratic. It is the only system that is effective. It will bring untold benefits, moral as well as physical, to the young manhood, and to the whole life of our nation. There is nothing for us to fear in the word "conscription." It stands for real Americanism. It stands for the fact that the country

has a right to the service of all her sons, and that she will require service of them all alike, without difference or discrimination. The adoption of this system will serve as nothing else could to weld together the varied elements of our mixed population, and to knit us into one great whole of American life and citizenship.

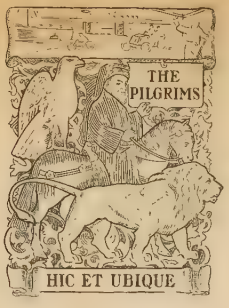
And on this important occasion, in the presence of those so identified with the best interests of our country as are the members of this Society, I wish to pay my personal tribute of respect and honor to the man who, by his rank, by his abilities as a soldier, by his experience, and by his character stands out in the forefront in all our minds at this critical time, who has done far more than any other to arouse, to warn, and to educate our country on this vital question, and who is entitled in the highest degree to our confidence and our grateful appreciation—Major-General Leonard Wood.

Men of the Loyal Legion:—These are great days in which we are living. They are days which must lift us all, in public or in private life, to higher planes both of vision and of action. They are days which must make us all wish to be worthy of the great opportunity offered to us to serve the world, and of our name as Americans.

If there is anything in us it must come out now.

The glorious soldiers of France and Britain, of heroic Belgium, and all the others, have heard with unmeasured joy that America, the strong young giant of the West, is coming in. They are fighting the battle for us now, but we are not going to sit here and let them do this. Our message to them is that we are coming, that we will soon be there, that we will keep coming in uncounted numbers, and that we will never stop until Prussianism is completely overthrown, until the infamous wrongs which have been committed are as far as possible set right, until law and justice have been reëstablished, until the world is made "safe for democracy" and the foundations are laid deep and firm for world-wide brotherhood and lasting peace.

NOTE: *Copies of this and of the other Bulletins of the League can be secured at the office of the League, 2 West 45th St., New York.*



In Memoriam

Joseph Hodges Choate

late President of

The Pilgrims of the United States

Address delivered by
His Grace, The Lord Archbishop of Canterbury
The Most Rev. Randall Thomas Davidson, D.D.
at the Memorial Service held in
St. Margaret's Church, Westminster, London
under the auspices of
The Pilgrims of Great Britain
May 21, 1917

It is not our usage in a Service such as this to speak one to another, as I am speaking now. The familiar words which we sing or read have a more sacred origin and a loftier intent. But I am asked, from a quarter which precludes refusal, to express in a few short sentences—sternly few—our sense that the common sorrow, the common thanksgiving, which bring us here this morning have a quite peculiar significance.

We are remembering before God a man of redoubtable personality, a man of wide and potent influence, a man who used for the highest and least selfish ends his gift of glowing speech and his singular and well-proven power of friendship. But our thoughts swing out to-day into a yet larger field.

One short week ago, Joseph Hodges Choate, in the full physical and mental vigour of his ripe old age, stood in the front line of the group of American citizens actively responsible for one of the greatest events in human history—the entry of the United States into the world-war, on behalf of what is honourable and righteous in the intercourse of Nations and the life of men. Mr. Choate was pre-eminently a great American citizen, a conspicuous example of what is pure and without reproach in the public and civic life of a great country. And as he stood for what is best in American life, he stood not less strenuously for what cements in bonds of healthiest friendship the American and British peoples, both of whom he had served so well.

Yet it was not for love of England, keen as his love was, that he urged and welcomed his country's entry into the war. It was, as he made clear, for the righteousness of the cause wherein England and America should—nay, for the world's sake must—stand side by side. "We are in for a victory," he declared in his last speech nine days ago—"victory which must be won by us together."

It is thus that we remember him. It is in that spirit that we reverently thank God and take courage.

The pure flame of what is straightforward in purpose and high-toned in endeavour burned brightly in the torch which he unswervingly upheld on either side of the Atlantic. By God's help, we are not going to let it flicker or wane.

Minute of Condolence

The Pilgrims of the United States

May 22, 1917

On Monday, May fourteenth, nineteen hundred and seventeen, Joseph Hodges Choate, President of The Pilgrims of the United States, entered into his rest.

At this special meeting of The Pilgrims called for the purpose, we desire to place on record our sense of inexpressible loss in the death of our beloved and honored President.

In the city, the state, the nation, and far beyond, Joseph Choate held a place in the esteem and affection of his fellows such as is given to few men, but nowhere did his gifts and qualities find happier expression than in this Society, and nowhere was truer and more whole-hearted love given to him than by his friends and associates of The Pilgrims.

On every occasion he added a certain distinctive note to our meetings by the charm of his presence, the light of his wisdom and the play of his wit. No member of The Pilgrims ever believed more fully in its aim, nor advocated this with more effect than did our late President. With his whole soul he desired to see the English speaking peoples bound together in full brotherhood and fellowship, for their own sakes, and for the good of all the world, and in his period of brilliant service as Ambassador to Great Britain, he accomplished much towards this end.

At the outbreak of the present war he saw clearly the issues that were involved. He saw that our country must take her place beside those who were fighting for human freedom, or prove false to every ideal and principle for which she stands, and then, as always, he spoke out with unflinching courage. Again and again, as our President, he expressed our intense sympathy with Great Britain and her Allies in this momentous struggle, and no voice was more potent than his in rousing our country to realization of her duty.

Deeply as we deplore his loss, we cannot but feel our sorrow lightened by the circumstances attending it. To us, the close of his work here seems to have about it the same striking fitness which marked that of the First President of The British Pilgrims, Field Marshal Earl Roberts, of noble memory, who ended his life at the front in the fellowship and service of his own Indian troops.

Mr. Choate was called upon to serve as Chairman of the Committee appointed by the Mayor to receive the British and French War Commissions on their supremely important, and never to be forgotten, visit to New York. He knew that his acceptance of the office involved serious physical risk, but he chose gladly to give himself to this high service.

We shall always think of him as he stood and spoke at the great gathering of welcome, at the City Hall, at the Chamber of Commerce, and elsewhere, on those five memorable days. He gave his whole strength to this last grateful task, and when it was ended, his work among us was done. His life was laid down in the great cause for which we are now fighting as truly as though he had fallen on the battle-field.

We mourn his loss, but his memory will be one of the cherished possessions of The Pilgrims.

We join with all our fellow-citizens in grateful appreciation of his service to our country.

We commend him to God, in Whom we put our eternal trust, and we offer to the members of his family, our most heartfelt sympathy, with the hope that great as is their sorrow, their support and consolation may be still greater.

W. T. M.

Address delivered by
The Rev. William T. Manning, S.T.D.
at the Memorial Service held in
Trinity Church, New York
under the auspices of
The Pilgrims of the United States
May 31, 1917

We are gathered here, in this historic church to pay our tribute to the memory of one who held a unique place in the affections of his fellow-citizens.

For more than fifty years the name of Joseph Hodges Choate has been known conspicuously in our public life.

We find it difficult to think of New York without him. His help was always to be counted on in any effort for human progress for better government, for the public good. He was the spokesman for all good causes and the representative of whatever is best and finest in our city's life. It is no exaggeration, nor mere figure of speech, to say that he was our chief citizen. The title was conceded to him without question, and by all alike. His part in affairs civic, national and international is known to all of you.

You know what his career was as a lawyer, and the pre-eminent place that he held at the bar.

You know of his unexcelled service to our country as Ambassador to Great Britain. His influence in that high office was a powerful factor in deepening the mutual understanding and strengthening the ties between the British and American peoples.

And we who are here to-day know how he furthered this great end as President of The Pilgrims of the United States. His name itself was a symbol of the object for which The Pilgrims Society exists, the promotion of that close and enduring fellowship among the English speaking peoples which will be the surest guarantee of liberty and justice and peace throughout the world.

At the meetings of The Pilgrims our beloved President's powers seemed to find their fullest and happiest expression. We shall never forget the tones of his clear voice, the flashes of his sparkling wit, the words of inspiration and of wisdom that he spoke to us, the dignity and spirit that his presence lent to those occasions.

It is natural for us to think of his brilliant gifts, his unusual powers, his distinguished career as lawyer, statesman, diplomatist and patriot, but the thought that we care most to dwell on now is the thought of his high character, his nobleness of soul, his personal charm, his kindly and audacious humor, his delightful and appealing humanness.

These were the things that made him so true a man, so rare a friend. It was for these things that we loved him, and that we love him still.

To all the other good gifts bestowed on Joseph Choate there was added length of years. He lived to an age beyond that of most men. And in his case, the best wine was kept until the feast's end. His highest service to his country and to his fellow-men was given during the years just past, since the outbreak of the World War.

From the beginning, he saw the true significance of this great conflict. He saw that it was a fight for Democracy, for Civilization, for Religion, for every truth for which Christianity stands.

He saw that a world dominated by the principles of Prussian Militarism would be a world unfit to live in. And he lifted up his voice in advocacy of strong and fearless action.

There was no one who felt more keenly and spoke more clearly than he did for the honor of America. There was no one whose words helped more to arouse our country to see what was required of her, to see the meaning of this crisis for herself and for the world.

There was no one who felt deeper relief and thankfulness when we took our place beside those who are giving their all for freedom and for right.

The last five days of his life stand out before our minds as a

chapter by themselves. He was Chairman of the Mayor's Committee appointed to receive and welcome the members of the French and British War Commissions on their epoch-making visit to this city.

In all his life had he performed no task for which he was better fitted, nor one more wholly congenial to him. He gave himself to it to the uttermost, and his gifts and powers never shone more brightly than in the continuous succession of meetings and functions, public and private, during those five momentous days.

It was his last crowning act of service; and having performed it, he entered into his rest.

We mourn his death, but the fitness of it almost takes away the sting from our grief.

What could be more fitting than that our closing recollection of Joseph Hodges Choate should stand, as it will always stand, associated with the realization of our full brotherhood and fellowship with Great Britain, France and our other Allies in this supreme struggle which we are determined shall issue, at whatever cost, in the overthrow of Prussianism, and the establishment of law and right and peace for all mankind.

Our chief thought at this service is not one of sadness, great as our loss is, but rather of thankfulness and faith.

We sorrow not as men that have no hope but as those who look through an open doorway into the life beyond, through the grace of Christ our Lord.

We think with grateful and unceasing affection of him who has gone from us and we remember him here to-day in the presence of God.

★

Patriotic Meeting

in honor of

The Most Reverend Cosmo Gordon Lang, D.D.

The Lord Archbishop of York

Primate of England

★

Carnegie Hall

Thursday evening, March seventh

Nineteen hundred eighteen

★

Program

CARNEGIE HALL
THURSDAY EVENING, MARCH SEVENTH
NINETEEN HUNDRED EIGHTEEN

ORGAN RECITAL:	G. Darlington Richards, Organist of St. James' Church. T. Tertius Noble, Organist of St. Thomas' Church.
NATIONAL ANTHEMS: (To be sung by the audience.)	"The Star Spangled Banner." "God Save the King."
INTRODUCTORY REMARKS:	Eugenius H. Outerbridge, *Chairman*.
WELCOME ON BEHALF OF THE STATE OF NEW YORK:	His Excellency, Charles S. Whitman, Governor.
WELCOME ON BEHALF OF THE ARMY CHAPLAINS:	The Rev. William T. Manning, S.T.D., Rector of Trinity Church, Chaplain 302nd Engineer, Camp Upton.
HYMN: (To be sung by the audience.)	"The Battle Hymn of the Republic."
ADDRESS:	The Honorable Elihu Root.
HYMN: (To be sung by the audience.)	"An International Anthem, America and Britain."
ADDRESS:	The Lord Archbishop of York.
HYMN: (To be sung by the audience.)	"Onward Christian Soldiers."
BENEDICTION:	The Righ Reverend David Hummell Greer, D.D., Bishop of the Diocese of New York.

PROCEEDINGS

OF THE

PATRIOTIC MEETING

IN HONOR OF

THE MOST REVEREND COSMO GORDON LANG, D. D.

THE LORD ARCHBISHOP OF YORK

PRIMATE OF ENGLAND

MR. EUGENIUS H. OUTEBRIDGE, THE CHAIRMAN: We will open the meeting by singing "The Star Spangled Banner" and then "God Save the King." [Audience sings "Star Spangled Banner" and "God Save the King."]

MR. GEORGE T. WILSON: And now, right from here—away up there (from stage to gallery)—three great big cheers—"Made in America for America and England." Are you ready? [Three cheers.]

THE CHAIRMAN: Fellow citizens: It is my very great privilege as the presiding officer of this large and brilliant gathering, to do what I am sure you would wish me to do—namely, to try and express on your behalf something of the sentiment and the greeting that you would like to extend to-night to our distinguished guest of honor. I interpret your presence here as an expression of your desire to show your appreciation of the splendid exhibition of character, of accomplishment, of heroic courage, of steadfast determination, of dignity and fortitude in sorrow and suffering which his Lordship's people have shown throughout this long and terrible war. [Applause.]

Have not we, though far removed from the scenes of battle, come to realize by force of bitter circumstances that ruthless murder and rapine, which seemed unthinkable in this Twentieth Century, even as the product of the passions of war, have indeed been the long and premeditated policy of that nation which had deemed itself to be the intellectual superior of mankind and so had justified to itself its determination to dominate the world?

With an intent to dismay and to break down the resistance of peoples weaker and less cruel than themselves, have we not seen their campaigns of frightfulness carried into unoffending lands, first on the one side and then on the other, and on the sea and under the sea? Have we not seen our own land, while we were friendly neutrals, used as the seat and centre of a campaign unprecedented in the annals of history, to debauch our citizenship, to destroy our property, to invade the territory of friendly neighbors, to embroil us in domestic strife and to create breaches in our international friendships? Have we not seen the German Embassy, while enjoying the protection, hospitality, security and immunity which we gave it, in accordance with the customs prevailing ever since the beginning of international relations between civilized peoples—have we not seen that Embassy used by one of Germany's *noblemen,* the Ambassador himself, as a cloak to shelter the hatching place of plot after plot against ourselves and our friends?

Why were we so complacent? Why were we so long in awakening to our danger and to our duty? Was it not perhaps partly because we knew that off there to the eastward somewhere, like a dark gray horizon, sometimes shrouded in impenetrable mist, sometimes lashed by an angry sea, sometimes iced by the winter's spoondrift, there was ever that majestic line of grim sentinels, throbbing with life, silent as death till the minute of action, sleeplessly alert, guarding we knew full well our land and our lives as surely as it was their own. [Applause.]

And therefore are we not here to-night also to express our gratitude that during the period of our slow awakening and preparation we had that sure protection of the British Navy, which enabled us also to carry on an immense and increasing foreign trade which placed us in a commanding position of economic strength for the undertaking, when at last we awakened to the realization that this was our war just as much as it was their war. [Applause.] And so may not I say to the Lord Archbishop to-night on your behalf that the blessed peace of one hundred years, from 1814 to 1914, which since the signing of the Treaty of Ghent has been maintained between Great Britain and ourselves, instead of being celebrated as we had intended to do it, by the erection of great monuments in our respective countries, is being perpetuated under circumstances fraught with still more momentous consequences to our two nations and to the future of the whole world. If not by the erection of monuments, nevertheless, it is being celebrated by our navy join-

ing in action with their navy, by our armies fighting side by side with their armies. [Applause.] And by all our people willingly offering to share the sacrifices and the sorrows with his people. [Applause.]

And together we shall raise a spiritual monument, for the benefit of all mankind, by fighting until we have achieved the triumph of justice and liberty and democracy, and then, bound to each other by the ties of speech and of blood and of sacrifice, one and inseparable in our determination for the future peace of the world, we shall surround that monument by an invulnerable circle, with an edict in letters of living fire—"Peace on Earth, good will towards men, thence forth and forevermore." [Applause.]

People of New York, it is not necessary for me to introduce the next speaker to you [applause], but I present to you his Excellency, the Hon. Charles H. Whitman, the Governor, who on behalf of the State will say a word of welcome to our distinguished guest. [Applause.]

Governor Charles S. Whitman: Speaking in Westminster Abbey on the occasion of the services held in that historic edifice in memory of General Grant, Canon Farrar closed his memorable address with these words (familiar I know they are, your Grace, to you and to many in this audience): "Could we be gathered in a more fitting place to honor General Grant. There is no lack of American memorials here. We add another to-day. Whatever there be between the two nations to forget and forgive is forgotten and forgiven. [Applause.]

"If the two peoples who are one be true to their high duty, who can doubt that the destinies of the world are in their hands? [Applause.] Let America and England"—I am still quoting from Canon Farrar—"march in the van of freedom and progress, showing the world not only a magnificent spectacle of human happiness, but a still more magnificent spectacle of two great peoples united, loving righteousness and hating iniquity, inflexibly faithful to the principles of eternal justice, the unchanging law of God." [Applause.]

Thirty years and more have passed and the words, the dream of the great churchman, have come true. The England that he loved, the America of which he spoke so beautifully, are to-day showing the world the spectacle of two peoples united; united because they love righteousness [applause], united because they hate iniquity [applause], inflexibly faithful to the principles of eternal justice,

faithful unto death. [Applause.] And that is why we are here to-night, with a welcome in our hearts and a welcome on our lips for another great English churchman, our Ally and our brother. [Applause.]

Of the holy cause to which our countries are committed, his country and ours, as holy a cause as that for which men have ever gone forth to battle in the history of the world—a cause for which the sons of England and the sons of France have fought and have died by the hundreds of thousands, others will speak to you to-night. I know His Grace will pardon, will understand; I have referred to the sons of England and the sons of France; but over here, when we contemplate the heroism of those 500,000 Canadians [applause] we know that they are British, but we love to think of them as Americans, too. The privilege and the honor is mine to assure our guest that eleven millions of loyal Americans in the great State of New York, regardless of race and regardless of creed, recognizing and appreciating the wealth of splendid manhood which is his and which, too, is the proud heritage of the great country from which he comes, give him welcome. [Applause.] We know that he will find, wherever he may go, in the nation in which our State has its being, here as at home, a people united, concentrated and devoted and determined, too, however long the time, however great the cost, that there shall be no peace for the world until the principles of eternal justice are vindicated once and for all. [Applause.] No peace for the world until the forces of absolutism are forever subjugated, no peace except with an absolute, complete and final victory. [Applause.]

And we believe that the victory can be brought only by the sword. [Applause.] Wherever you may go, your Grace, in the United States to-day you will find the American people lined up, and lined up where they belong. [Applause.]

The Chairman: Ever since the outbreak of the war in August, 1914, the people of New York have heard no more clarion voice for the right than that which has been spoken by the Rector of Trinity Church. [Applause.] Any of you who have sons, and many of you have, training in the armies of the United States, could have no greater wish than that they might be at that camp where he now is Acting Chaplain, and where he is encouraging and instilling the spirit of righteousness and comfort and courage in those men.

I present to you the Chaplain of the 302nd Engineers of Camp Upton, the Rev. William T. Manning. [Applause.]

The Rev. William T. Manning, D.D., Rector of Trinity Church and Chaplain of the 302nd Engineers, Camp Upton: Mr. Chairman, Your Grace, Ladies and Gentlemen: The Lord Archbishop of York would be an honored and most welcome guest among us at any time. But we give him tenfold welcome now because of the message that he brings. [Applause.] He brings us the message of the men of the British Empire [applause], the Great Empire of Freedom [applause], the men of the British Isles, and Canada, and Australia, and India and South Africa [applause], who, with the heroic French [applause] and Belgians [applause] and Italians [applause], for more than three long years have been fighting that battle which, from the first moment of the brutal assault on Belgium, was ours, just as much as it was theirs. [Applause and cheers.] We know, Your Grace, what we owe to that mighty British fleet, which for two and forty months in steadfast watch, and valiant fight, has kept guard for the world [applause] in the grey North Sea. To your magnificent army, a miracle in its creation, a monument to the great name of Kitchener [applause], we pay our tribute of honor without reserve. That army shows us how those who love and desire peace can meet the issues of war, if forced to do so. May we now rise to our part of this stern work as you have risen to yours.

A Voice: We will. [Applause.]

To your whole people we express our unmeasured admiration, our feeling lawful pride in our own blood and stock, at the way in which you leapt into the breach, without ever thinking of the cost, and have stood like a rock for truth and justice and for the freedom of the world. [Applause.]

The Archbishop comes among us now, not as the messenger of peace but as the messenger of unyielding, unflinching, uncompromising war. [Applause.] Does someone say "This is a strange mission for a Christian Archbishop? It is no more strange than the part borne in this conflict by another great Prelate, of whom we love to think, that glorious man who has incarnated in himself the very spirit of heroic Belgium [applause], that man of whom the whole world and the whole Christian Church is proud [applause], the noble Cardinal Mercier. [Applause.] Any man who now talks of peace, whatever his disguise or camouflage [laughter], is no real friend of peace [applause], no true friend of freedom [applause] and no loyal son of America. [Applause.] Because we want peace, because we believe in righteousness, we will listen to no word or suggestion of peace with an undefeated and unrepentant Prussia.

Our danger to-day is not from the Germans who are in the trenches. Our boys "Over There" and those beside whom they fight will take care of them. [Applause.] Our danger is from the so-called Pacifists, the American Bolsheviki [laughter and applause], who are seeking to break down the morale and weaken the fighting spirit of our people by their poison gas from the rear. [Applause.] We want no talk of peace by negotiation; we want no new statement of our war aims. [Applause.] We have only one war aim and all the world may know what it is. It is the complete overthrow of the Prussian military machine [applause] by crushing defeat upon the field of battle. [Applause.] Until that is accomplished any talk of peace is dangerous fanaticism, or thinly-disguised treason. [Applause.] Until that is accomplished no treaty under Heaven is worth the paper it is written on. [Applause.] After that is accomplished we will talk of indemnities and of reparation, if there can be such for the foul deeds that have been committed, and of peace lasting and secure. [Applause.]

Last Monday night at Camp Upton, the New York Camp, the Archbishop looked into the eager faces of two thousand of our officers and some four thousand of our boys in the ranks from this city [applause] and spoke to them from the very depths of his heart. It was his first sight of our National Army, and his words showed how profoundly he was moved. And I say to His Grace to-night, in the name of that splendid body of officers and men, with whom it is my great privilege to be associated [applause], in the name of our boys now in the trenches on the other side, and I know I may say it also as expressing the feeling and purpose of our united American people that we will never stop, we will never withdraw, nor stay our hand until the task is finished, until this fearful menace against the world is shattered and destroyed; until a repetition of these Prussian deeds which have shamed the name of humanity shall be made forever impossible. [Applause.] At Verdun the French gave us the immortal cry "They shall not pass!" [Applause.] From our British brothers comes the splendid message, "They shall be conquered!" [Applause.] The word of America as she now takes her place is "Never again." [Applause.] The task shall now be fully done. Victory first; negotiations and peace discussions afterwards. [Applause and cheers.]

The Chairman: All the people of America and all the people of the nations with which America has ever had anything to do,

know the next speaker on our programme. [Applause.] As Senator, as Secretary of War, as Secretary of State, as Special Ambassador on special missions on more than one occasion, and as patriot now giving of his time and of his energy at a period of life when he might well seek rest, I have the honor to present to you the Honorable ELIHU ROOT.

HONORABLE ELIHU ROOT: Mr. Chairman, Your Grace, Ladies and Gentlemen: Once before a message of the brotherhood of free self-governing peoples has come from Britain to the United States. The people of northern England, those who lived upon their labor in the manufacture of cotton fabrics from the staple produced in the southern states, deprived of their raw material during our civil war, were thrown out of employment and the men and women and little children were thrown into poverty and hunger and suffering in the province of my Lord, the Archbishop. [Applause.]

Long the people of Europe doubted where was the right in our civil struggle; but when LINCOLN had declared that the slaves should be free the men of Manchester doubted no longer [applause], and in a great meeting upon the last day of that dark year 1862, 6,000 of them sent a message to LINCOLN, saying that now they were sure that the victory of the Union forces meant striking the shackles from the slave they were with the North with all their hearts. [Applause.] Let me read to you LINCOLN'S reply, or an extract from it. He said:

"I know and deeply deplore the sufferings which the working men of Manchester and in all Europe are called to endure in this crisis. It has been often and studiously represented that the attempt to overthrow this government, which was built upon the foundation of human rights, and to substitute for it one which should rest exclusively on the basis of human slavery, was likely to obtain the favor of Europe. Through the action of our disloyal citizens, the working men of Europe have been subjected to severe trials for the purpose of forcing their sanction to that attempt. Under these circumstances I cannot but regard your decisive utterances upon the question as an instance of sublime Christian heroism, which has not been surpassed in any age or in any country. It is indeed an energetic and reinspiring assurance of the inherent power of truth and the ultimate and universal triumph of justice, humanity and freedom. I do not doubt that the sentiments you have expressed will be sustained by your great nation, and on the other hand I have no hesitation in assuring you that they will ex-

cite admiration, esteem and the most reciprocal feelings of friendship among the American people. I hail this interchange of sentiment, therefore, as an augury that whatever else may happen, whatever misfortune may befall your country or my own, the peace and friendship which now exists between the two nations will be as it shall be my desire to make them perpetual." [Applause.]

My Lord Archbishop, we now, in common with the people of LINCOLN'S land, renew to you, and through you to the men of Manchester and their countrymen, the pledge that LINCOLN gave. [Applause.] They were speaking of striking the shackles from the slaves, a freedom for others, but we speak now of freedom for the men of Manchester themselves and the men of LINCOLN'S America themselves, for their children and our children in all time to come. [Applause.] We are with you in heart and soul, in judgment and conviction, in purpose and determination, proud to be with the men who have shown the manhood, the high courage, the self-devotion, the willingness to die for liberty, that the men of Great Britain have shown in these times. [Applause.] We are proud that our laws, our system of justice, our conception of liberty, our customs came from those fathers out of whose loins sprang the men in the trenches upon the British line. [Applause.]

JOSEPH DE MAISTRE said many years ago: "One's country is an association upon the same soil of the living and the dead with all who are yet to be born." The association with the dead; loyalty to their memories by a free people scorning to be false to the ideals for which their fathers gone before have suffered and sacrificed. An association with those yet to be born, that nobility of character which forbids the self-respecting free man to fail to hand down to his children and his children's children the liberty and justice which he has inherited. It is that which binds together the people of a country and not geographical expression or political lines, and if that be true, as it is true, then, my Lord, you are our countryman. [Applause.] For we cherish and owe from our hearts loyalty to the same dead. Your liberty and ours were one. It is one liberty; it was won by the long struggles of the centuries in which Anglo-Saxon freedom was beaten out. You and I and all of us owe our fealty to the example of those barons at Runnymeade who extorted the great charter from the hands of JOHN. [Applause.] You and I and all of us owe the same loyalty to PYM and HAMPTON and ELLIOTT, the men who stood for the great gift to mankind of representative government. [Applause.] WASHINGTON and FRANKLIN, equally with CHATHAM and BURKE,

were the inheritors of that great tradition of individual manhood and personal independence. [Applause.] And when in that great Civil War for the freedom of the race in Britain and America, which we call the Revolution, we wrote into our Declaration of Independence the fundamental principle that men are entitled to inalienable rights, among which are life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness, and that governments are created to secure those rights, we stated principles which have made Britain great, as well as the principles which have made America great. [Applause.] And now the inheritors of the same great traditions, in the peaceful enjoyment of the same conception of liberty and justice, we are called upon alike to win them again. In loyalty to the same dead, we, the living, undertake the same task; the same duty rests upon us. And for the future your children and ours depend upon the same struggle; for if the German conception of government is to control in this world your children and ours will not be free. [Applause.]

We understand what it means. I am ashamed to talk about it, because we have talked so much; but we are acting about it, gradually, step by step, Britain came to understand what it meant and gradually, step by step, the people of the United States have come to understand what it means—that the principles of Anglo-Saxon and American liberty and justice are denied by the greatest military power the world has ever known. They will be cast out and no longer have a place in the world, unless that power is stricken down. [Applause.] And it can be stricken down only by force of arms [applause], not by negotiations, not by argument, not by settlement or adjustment, only by the strong arm of military force. [Applause.] It will mean vast sacrifice, and still more sacrifice; suffering and still more suffering; death lamentable to contemplate. "We shall drain our dearest veins, but they shall be free." [Applause.]

Is it strange that a clergyman should come upon this mission of war? Ah, no! The struggle is more than political. It is a struggle for the overthrow or the maintenance of all the progress that the civilization of a century has made towards Christianity. All, every step, by which kindly and enlightened men during this past hundred years have sought to bring the practice of nations nearer to the principles of the Christian religion, every step is to be retraced if Germany wins. [Applause.] It means the renewed ascendency of the cruel and brutal and conscienceless power of a dark and horrid past, a wicked and heathen past, taking the place

of that Christianity which we fondly hoped we were, little by little, approaching in these years. [Applause.]

No one has so much reason to protest, to cry the alarm, to rally his people, to urge resistance, as the man who gives his life that God's kingdom may come upon earth. [Applause.]

This war is not a war about boundaries or provinces or the distribution of territory; it is not a war in which we are entering because ships were sunk or because plots have been laid and carried on within our boundaries or because attempts have been made to foment attacks and partition our territory; it is not a war for Servia or Alsace-Lorraine or Poland or even for Belgium—it is a war between Odin and Christ. [Applause.] It is a war to determine whether this world shall go back under the Dominion of the Prince of Darkness, out of the light back again to days of despair and ignorance and slavery, or whether the good God who is just and compassionate may still smile upon a world where He is worshipped in spirit and in truth. There can be no half-way measures. There is no other issue but this: Shall the German principle of evil, dark, cruel, pagan, control this world and oppress our children?

A Voice: It shall not.

Mr. Root: No, it shall not. [Applause.]

My Lord, please tell your people when you return that the one hundred millions of America are not weaklings. They are awake at last. They were slow to part with their peace, but they are awake at last, and they are preparing to fight, going to fight, beginning to fight, and will continue to fight, with all the dogged persistency, the bull dog courage, the incapacity to realize defeat, the unwillingness to realize defeat, and therefore the capacity for victory which we rightly inherit from the men who made the liberty of the Anglo-Saxon race. [Applause and cheers.]

The Chairman: Your Grace, on behalf of this audience, I would say we welcome you to-night first for yourself, for what you are and have been, and what you have done to help men onwards and upwards in their path through life. [Applause.]

Secondly, we welcome you as the noble representative of that noble nation which is now our cherished Ally in this war. [Applause.]

And lastly, we rejoice to welcome you because your coming to us just at this time seems, as it were, to confer a benediction upon the

course we have now taken up and to furnish an inspiration and a strengthening of our hope and courage for the task that we have ahead. People of New York, I have the very great honor to present to you the most Reverend, the Lord Archbishop of York, Primate of England. [Applause and cheers.]

THE LORD ARCHBISHOP OF YORK: Mr. Chairman, your Excellency, Ladies and Gentlemen—I think you will all understand how difficult I find it to speak to you to-night. I am overcome by the fervor of the welcome which you have given, not to me, to my country across the sea. [Applause.]

You have said things of us to-night which we, being men of stumbling speech, though of stubborn deeds, have hesitated to say about ourselves. [Laughter and applause.] I could wish with all my heart that some of our brothers who have laid down their lives in France and Flanders and Gallipoli and Mesopatamia, knowing that they were right but hardly ever trying to put their cause into words, could have heard your vindication of their death. [Applause.] I think that Dr. MANNING was right when he said that any one at any time coming from England would have been assured here of a kindly welcome, but there would have been inevitably some reserve, some lingering suspicion, misunderstanding. These, my friends, we know now to belong to the world which has gone and to have no place in the new world which is coming. [Applause.] In other days it might even have been thought that I came to you bearing a suspicious title and wearing a suspicious garb, a title that would have seemed to you to have more of the old spirit of the Middle Ages than of the free breezes of Democracy. [Applause.]

But this evening, so far as you can listen to me, I will ask you to look upon me as a child looked upon one of my predecessors. She was anxious to see him, she thought an archbishop must be something, she was not quite sure whether wonderful or wicked [laughter], but when she saw him she turned to her mother with a look half of relief, half of disappointment, and she said: "Why, Mother, he's only a man." [Laughter and applause.]

In what I have to say to you I hope that you will feel that I am speaking to you as only a man, whose manhood like yours is going through a great and searching test, and who speaks to you from his heart. And I may venture, after Mr. ROOT's eloquent words, to say that to-night I can speak to you not only as your comrade in this great cause, but as your countryman in that great commonwealth

of free nations, which, through this war we hope to establish upon the earth. [Applause.]

Ladies and gentlemen, there are three memories of this war which are stamped indelibly upon my mind. The first was my visit to the Grand Fleet of which you have spoken so generously this evening, in 1915. I wonder what those gallant, silent men would have thought if they had heard all that has been said of them to-night? I don't think it ever occurred to them that they were very heroic people. They were there to do their duty and they were proud of it, and that was enough for them. [Applause.]

You can have little idea what it was to live for nearly three weeks in that world, remote, amid the mists of the Northern Seas, to realize that there was there, quite silent, this strong spirit of resolute devotion to duty. It was a surprise to me when I went there to realize what it meant for that fleet, then without any base, to keep tearing through these dark waters for seven months, and that first winter, with no leave ashore, with no safety at sea, and yet by their very presence there directly preventing that first awful onrush of force which, if it had not been stayed, might have in three months swept civilization from the face of Europe. [Applause.]

People sometimes ask: "Where is this British Navy?" It is often a good thing, as you know, in private conversation to answer one question by asking another, and I would answer that question by saying, "Where is the vaunted German navy?" [Applause.]

It is enough to say that it is not where any self-respecting navy would wish to be, on the high seas. [Applause.]

I know there are these submarines. They are a menace grave and real, but there are two things to be said of them. The first is that in spite of them our navy, with the assistance of that class of men who are only now coming into their own, and receiving the meed of their undoubted heroism—I mean the sailors of our merchant marine [applause]—our navy, with the merchant marine, in spite of the submarine, has transported, since the beginning of the war thirteen millions of troops [applause], with loss due to enemy action out of these thirteen millions, of only 2,700 men. [Applause.] Further, I have every reason to say that within a few months, while the peril will always remain, it will no longer be a thing to harass, still less to daunt the peoples of America and Great Britain. [Applause.] I am sure that you all here this evening in this great gathering would wish, if I might have some time the opportunity once again of visiting the fleet, to tell them what you think of all that they have been doing far away there in these distant seas. [Applause.] And that

the words are in your heart which sprung to mine when first I rounded the cliffs of that northern isle and saw the Grand Fleet at anchor.

Sailor, what do we owe you; day or night is the peril more;
Who are so dull that he fails to know you, sleepless guard of
our island shore. [Applause.]

The second memory of the war is my visit to the army in France and Flanders last summer, when for three weeks I was privileged to be the guest of our army commanders of all our five armies, from the north down to the south. And like some who may be here this evening, and unlike most of you, I have seen the flashing and heard the thunder of those guns of death; I have spoken to thousands of men on the eve of battle; I have seen them return from the trenches, dazed, bewildered, groaning, stained with blood and covered with mud; I have stood—who that has done so can ever forget it?—I have stood by those white crosses dotting the wasted fields by the Somme, where men were laying, who when I saw them last were in the full springtide of their life and promise.

And, ladies and gentlemen, I think perhaps even more than the men whose life was spent there I was able to judge of the spirit of that army, to which in words and in most generous and heartfelt applause we have paid a tribute so eloquent this evening.

I know what that spirit is. These dear men would scarcely understand half the things that I heard to-night. You here are eager for your place in the war; they are, one and all, longing that it should end. They have no illusions about the glory of war; they know it is a grim and beastly thing, and it is the thought that the ambition and aggression of Germany has brought within the lives of decent citizens a thing so vile, that fills them with indignation. As they would put it, not being eloquent, and after our manner, they are "fed up" with the war. [Laughter and applause.]

And I think their feelings were admirably expressed by a friend of mine who has been at it since the retreat from Mons, who said to me the other day, when he was called to go back, I think for the sixth time, "The truth is, I would give ten thousand pounds not to go back, for I know what is in front of me; but if any man offered me ten thousand pounds to stay at home I would knock him down." [Laughter and applause.]

Grumbling about his food, talking about his "Missus" and his kids, wearied and bored if you talk to him about the greatness and the magnificence of his cause, there he is, his faith briefly comprehended in this saying: "Don't worry and keep smiling." And by the

testimony of everyone of these commanders, rough, silent, unromantic, in himself unheroic, he never fails to respond to any demand, and advances through any mud and to any danger, unflinching in soul and determined in courage. [Applause.]

And now my third memory of this war is this visit to the United States. [Applause.] It is quite impossible for you to realize the impression it has already made upon me, and although I am assured on all hands that New York is not America [laughter] and that I am about to go to places which I shall not here mention [laughter], where I shall be even more forcibly reminded of that truth, yet I cannot doubt for one moment but that I shall find wherever I go—and your words, Mr. ROOT, confirm my impression—that I shall find wherever I go the same warm heart and the same outstretched hand telling the fellowship between America and the British Empire in this great contest. [Applause.]

May I tell you what the effect of my coming into your midst is? I cannot describe it, because you would almost fail to understand what I meant, but I feel like a man who has been for a long time trudging along through dust and heat and rain and sleet along a narrow road until he almost forgot that the sun ever shone, who finds himself in an open space with a light of hope, a buoyancy, a confidence shining and a breeze of a great spirit blowing. [Applause.]

I think perhaps the best way in which I can make you understand what through me England will feel when it realizes what America is bringing in, if I venture for a moment or two to tell you something of why your advent is so much needed and has been so much prized, and I venture to do so because we have been assured this evening, and I have it on the authority of another of your great citizens, Dr. BUTLER, it has taken us two long years and a half to see that behind these straggling heroes that wear the uniform of France—I think he would let me add the uniform of England—and that great silent powerful British navy, were being protected the constitution and the laws of these United States. I am only therefore telling you something about a chapter in your enterprise which is now over and which you are carrying on.

Of course—how shall I put it?—our life has been quite transformed in the old country. We all think of the days before the 4th of August, 1914, as if they belonged to a world in which we hardly remember living. All our best and keenest men in certain classes, you may say quite all of them have left us. You are aware, of course, that our navy has been increased from 150,000 to 400,000 and our army, our contemptible little army, which less than four

years ago numbered, all told, including reserves and territorials, 700,000, has been swelled to seven and one-half million men [applause], and please remember that of the seven and one-half millions, four and one-half millions have come from poor old England itself. [Applause.] I am the last person in the world to underrate what has been done by our Scottish regiments, for they carry the honor of my blood with them [applause], but certainly I join with all my heart in the eloquent tribute which was paid by the Governor to our gallant Canadian troops [applause], for have I not stood, yes, and drawn the German shells upon my black person on the top of Vimy Ridge and been able to judge with my own eyes what an enormous victory they won both for France and for Great Britain? [Applause.]

Yes, I think it is worth saying—because you see I can do it quite disinterestedly—don't forget these plain and unromantic men from England; don't forget that after all, in many a tight place, Colonial and Scottish and Irish troops have sometimes been saved by the steady, dogged traditional persistence of the English troops. [Applause.] Don't forget that it was the Lancashire lads of whom Mr. Root spoke so eloquently, who stood by your people when few others understood what you were doing; it was Lancashire lads in that famous division who went straight and gallantly right into the jaws of death at Gallipoli, and it was Yorkshire miners that have the honor of the largest record of any advance under fire made by any regiment so far in the British army. An Englishman could not have said what I have said, but a Scotchman can. [Applause and laughter.]

And ladies and gentlemen, you won't forget, because you went straight to the root of the matter at once—but you won't forget that out of that seven and a half millions, five millions offered themselves freely, without the touch of compulsion. [Applause.]

Five millions; they were men of every class and sort and kind; of course, there were classes who were bound to go at once; the classes whose day perhaps is over, because we know well there are other classes coming into the heritage, and because of their numbers bound to take the leading place. But, citizens of America, there was an old class in England, the men of our public schools and universities, the old governing class, which, with all its narrowness of vision and all its faults, still stood for the ideals of disinterested service to their country. They, without question and without thinking, of course went out straight and at first into the war. [Applause.]

But there were others, of whom the same might not have been expected; there were men to whom their country had given, it would

seem, nothing but a few rooms in a slum of a great city or a mining village, and a place, as it seemed, as a mere cog in the wheel of a great monotonous machine, and yet they, too, took that place.

"Low browed, ill nourished, fostered in the slum,
He had no pride of birthright or of breed,
Yet when his country's hour of stress was come
Stood up, a man indeed." [Applause.]

Streams of these men have poured into our hospitals and country villages, wounded, maimed and disabled. At home we are as familiar with the sight of our wounded soldiers as you would be with the sight of your automobiles in Fifth Avenue, and I am not sure that the sight of our wounded is more inspiring than the others. [Laughter and applause.]

With all this, there is unceasingly the toil and labor of all our people. I suppose you realize that everywhere our country is a great arsenal, that there are five thousand controlled establishments and ten thousand contractors ceaselessly at work; that our shipyards are more busy than they were in the record year of 1913; that in spite of all this drain of labor our farmers, with the help of women, are raising more food in our own country than has ever been raised before. There are two milllon more quarters of wheat now in England than there were two years ago. [Applause.] There will soon be three million more acres under plough than there have been since the days of our long past agricultural prosperity. And all this, may I say, would have been impossible had it not been for the noble part that our women have taken in the service of their country. [Applause.]

Not a girl of the educated classes who is not finding new meaning in the possibilities that are presented in the service of her country. Hardly a girl of any kind who is not herself or through her sisters speeding along the roads or in special trains to the munition factories and working there long hours with unremitting zeal and care; women, 20,000 women, comrades with our men in France, themselves doing the things that men have done in order that these men might go further up into the front. And when I speak of the women I cannot omit to speak of what perhaps they have done best of all, that they have enabled us, as no others could have done, to bear the heaviest part of our burden of losses we have sustained. I read in your newpapers of your casualty lists. I have already met one or two who have said to me that they have lost their boys, and I hardly realize what it has been to live in England for three and a half years and to know, for it is really so, that almost all the young men to

whom we had been looking for the service of their country in the future with the utmost hope, are gone. You can scarcely look a man or woman in the face without knowing what sorrow lies hidden there.

Just before I left—it comes to my mind now—I was speaking to two friends of mine, plain, ordinary men, neither face showed the slightest sign of emotion; I had not seen them since their loss had come. After our manner, no words passed, but we shook hands, and I knew that behind those four straight honest eyes there was a life out of which the light of hope had forever gone, and that is a shadow that lies over the whole nation. Some time, when your day of sorrow comes, since you are our comrades, you will remember, dear people of America, that we tried to make no whine about it; we did not even try to make it romantic, we made the offer, we accepted the sacrifices, we have left these men in the hands of God and all we ask is that you will help us in their name with something of their spirit to carry on their task until it is done and done forever. [Applause.]

And so you see, my friends, how timely your incoming has been. We do not deny that there were some of us who wished you could have come in earlier; that wish was put in a trenchant way by one of these Englishwomen of whom I have been speaking, of whom I only heard this evening. I am told that one of the pioneers of your great army who was in London asked for some innocent beverage, and when the lady who was serving him brought it he tasted and said—perhaps remembering the greater variety of such beverages in the City of New York, he said, "It's a bit stale," and she replied, "Yes, that's because it's been waiting for you for three years." [Laughter and applause.] There were some who so felt, but I wish to say in this place, as I have already said in another—because I think it ought to be said and I think is what our most responsible statesmen would say—that we have watched with great admiration the way in which your great President [prolonged applause] has dealt with one of the most responsible problems with which any statesman ever had to deal—watched with great admiration the way in which—I say this genuinely here now, for I have said it for years in England before you came in—the way in which he so educated all sections of this great people, that when the moment came he was able to bring into the contest not only a united people but a people who had a clear vision, a clear grasp of the great principles for which they went to war. [Applause.] And running all risks, I will say that a divided America would only have added to our trouble; a united America, please God, will save us from that. [Applause.]

But since you have come you have brought the things we most need. You have brought material resources. These men of whom Dr. MANNING spoke so eloquently, I had meant this evening to tell you something of my impressions of them, but my time is almost past; I must forbear, because I am sure that you say of them things far more eloquent than I, a Britisher, has in his power to say. But let me only say this: There is not the most eloquent American who will say anything about these men that I would not feel to be true. I have seen troops in every part of the world and I will only say of my impressions this: That a more intelligent, keen, steady, healthy set of men I have never seen [applause], and with all my heart I say God bless them, and I know with what eagerness their advent, as quick as you can send them, will be received in Flanders and in France. There are other material resources which you must send them which I think may all be comprehended in the chief demand—ships, more ships, ever more ships. But there are others who can speak to you about our needs for these material resources. I want to say a word of something else that you can bring us, that is not merely a material force but a moral force. The two, my friends, must go together. It is no good thinking that fine words are going to win this war. It is no good thinking that Germany, the present popular power in Germany, is going to be bewitched by beautiful phrases spoken either in England or America, and charmed by these high ideals out of their present obsession. Every one who has spoken this evening is right when they said that it is only the powers that are wielding the winning force of the war that will be able to make their ideals prevail either in Germany or in any part of the world. And yet, at the same time do not forget, and this is indeed I think almost what I most wish to say to you, do not forget that you may very likely, and we have found something of it at home, that you may very likely before long get tired of the perpetual output of men and money and ships and resources on and on, unless—unless—you keep clear, strong, undimmed before your eyes the great ideals which your President expressed, and with which this great nation has come into the war. And I am not at all sure at this present time that the greatest service you can render us is not the honesty, the constancy, and the fortitude with which, in spite of all possible weariness, you will maintain the shining of these great moral ideals, which, in the long run alone, can redeem this war. And I therefore beg of you, so far from being impatient about ideals and anxious only to get at grips with the enemy himself, you will realize that where things matter most it is the nation that has its conscience

most strong and its ideals most high that will bring, not only most power, but most blessing from on high to the output of its physical force. Keep, therefore, and give to us the clear shining of your moral ideals. In the long run it is the soul that will tell in this great struggle.

As I close, let me read to you some words written by MISCHA SABOTANS, which seem to me admirably to express that truth in regard to France, and remember, France would never have been able to put forth that gallant and unceasing output of its strength, unless there was always behind it the depth and conviction of its soul. [Applause.] These are the words:

"When a quarrel is for money or for a strip of territory, one can make peace without moral loss; to make peace when an ideal is at stake is an abdication. Even to think of it is to be false to the voices which tell us that man is born for other things than to enjoy the material heritage of his fathers."

Believe me, what we most need at this present time is constancy and fortitude. We know it in England; you will come to know it in America. And there are two things that are needed to maintain this fortitude. The first is to recognize, and I say it with all my heart and with full depth of conviction, though I have no time to enlarge upon it, nothing but a clean peace, a peace that leaves no open sore, and that settles once and for all whether or not right or might is to be strongest in the future of Europe, nothing but a clean peace can make the sacrifice of this war tolerable in memory.

And the second thing, that it is only the vision of what we are doing, only those ideals to which you, Mr. ROOT, have given this evening such eloquent expression, can redeem war from barbarity and enable us to feel that even while we wage it we have powers higher than our own entrusted to us, and that with these powers, if we are faithful to them and worthy of them, there is but one possible issue, and it is worth while at all cost to go on. But, remember, it will not be easy. It will mean a great demand upon our resources of character and patience and conviction, and the higher we put our ideals—this is what I have been trying to say to you in New York—the higher we put our ideals the more we shall find the need of being able to find for them a centre, a source, a sanction which will justify us in all the sacrifices we offer for them.

I know in your own history here in America you have realized that your ideals become vivid and strong through the example and the memory of personal leaders—WASHINGTON, JEFFERSON, WEBSTER LINCOLN. It will not be otherwise with the ultimate ideals of this tremendous contest for the moral future of this world.

Believe me, I think we shall all need to find them personalized in order that they may have power, and I know where the leader is to be found. I cannot refrain for myself, or withhold from you the tribute of reverence to Him who is said to be the leader in all the great spiritual enterprises of mankind.

Let me borrow and change on this side of the sea an old word of CHARLES LAMB: "If GEORGE WASHINGTON were to enter this hall we should all stand, but if one JESUS were to enter this hall we should all kneel." [Perfect silence.]

Your silence is your tribute to His sway. As He speaks in the silence it is better that my words should cease. I only ask you to remember that if our contest is so solemn, if the sacrifices to which it may call you are so great, I bid you to remember Him.

You will forgive me if I have spoken longer than I intended. It is difficult for any one not to abuse such a privilege as that which you have given to me. But I have spoken with a strong sense of the tremendous responsibility that lies upon each man and woman whom I address.

Remember the words of your great LINCOLN. Every one of us will be remembered, our personal significance or insignificance cannot save one or other of us.

And therefore let us all, because the times are very great and we shall never be through the like of them again, let us all with all our hearts, and with the depth of our convictions, dedicate ourselves and our countries to this cause, and through this cause to God, let us all, you here in America and my people at home, offer up the great pledge of honor to which we will be faithful.

Land of our birth, our faith, our pride,
For whose dear sake our fathers died,
O mother land we pledge to thee
Head, hand and heart, for these years to be.

THE CHAIRMAN: In the absence of Bishop GREER, who is indisposed, Bishop BURCH, who is here, has requested His Grace, the Lord Archbishop, to pronounce the benediction.

HIS GRACE, THE LORD ARCHBISHOP: And to God's most gracious mercy and protection and guidance we commit you. The Lord bless and keep you, the Lord preserve your sons and fellow citizens in their going out and in their coming in. The Lord give you wisdom, courage, strength, unity and faith to fulfill His service now and ever. Amen.

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The Churches and Civilization

ADDRESSES BY

HIS EMINENCE CARDINAL FARLEY

REV. WILLIAM T. MANNING, D. D.

REV. JOSEPH SILVERMAN, D. D.

AT A MEETING OF THE

NEW YORK CATHOLIC WAR FUND

SUNDAY EVENING, MARCH 17, 1918

THE WHITE HOUSE,
Washington.

MARCH 8, 1918.

GENTLEMEN:

As Commander-in-Chief of the Army and Navy, I heartily approve your plan to accumulate a fund to be spent for the spiritual and material welfare of our soldiers and sailors, and I am very much gratified to note that your effort, while born of the charitable impulse of a single church, is non-sectarian in its scope and purpose and intended to confer a fundamental benefit upon all those whose mental, moral and physical health is our solemn concern.

Sincerely yours,

WOODROW WILSON.

NEW YORK CATHOLIC WAR FUND,
30 East 42nd Street,
New York City.

Cardinal Farley's Appeal

"We are asking the people of the Archdiocese of New York, Protestant, Jew and Catholic, for this money. We are asking it to finance extensive religious and social work in our army and navy stations. We shall not, for a moment, conceal the fact that we are seeking this money as Catholics and that our first aim is to protect the faith and morals of our Catholic boys in the army and navy. The social comforts and the recreational comforts and facilities will be at the service of every man in the army and navy. * * *"

"We have a right and just claim for public support in this movement. Our right and our claim are based upon the fact that the Great Church which we represent is the strongest and most enduring defender of this Government. We represent one-third of the population of this great city, and we confidently assert that of the contribution of service to the Nation from New York, one-third at least has been Catholic. * * *"

"These soldiers and sailors are the Nation's defense in this hour of her peril. Their trials, their privations, their dangers, their desires are our most sacred obligations. They are not starting off on a holiday excursion; they are going into serious danger; they will face death in many and terrible forms. They are going to fight for this country, for you and for me, and for all our neighbors in this great city. Their enthusiasm for such service is due to the fact that the Church has taught them that, next to God, their most sacred duty is to their country. * * *"

"To provide for their wants, to shield them from dangers is, first of all, the Church's responsibility. As Catholics, this responsibility is yours and mine, but it is also our neighbor's, because Catholic soldiers are in excess of their proportion.

"We are going to do our best; we are going to ask the great Nation to assist us. We are making this drive 'To Help the Government Win the War.' With God's help, we shall win this war."—*John Cardinal Farley.*

"To Help the Government Win the War"

NEW YORK CATHOLIC WAR FUND

FOR

Knights of Columbus Camp and Over-Seas Service and other War Activities

ORGANIZATION MEETING

OF

ADMINISTRATIVE COMMITTEES AND TEAM CAPTAINS

AT THE

New York Hippodrome
Sunday, March 17, 1918, at 8 p. m.

HIS EMINENCE JOHN CARDINAL FARLEY, D. D
ARCHBISHOP OF NEW YORK, HONORARY CHAIRMAN

JOHN G. AGAR, PRESIDING CHAIRMAN

ADDRESSES BY

HIS EMINENCE JOHN CARDINAL FARLEY, D. D.
HON. JOSEPHUS DANIELS, SECRETARY OF THE NAVY
REV. WILLIAM T. MANNING, D. D., CHAPLAIN 302ND ENGINEERS
HON. W. BOURKE COCKRAN, THE NATIONAL CATHOLIC WAR COUNCIL
REV. JOSEPH SILVERMAN, D. D., RABBI, TEMPLE EMANU-EL
WILLIAM P. LARKIN, LL.D., SUPREME DIRECTOR, KNIGHTS OF COLUMBUS

CARDINAL FARLEY'S ADDRESS

Mr. Chairman, Mr. Secretary, Honored Guests, Ladies and Gentlemen:

Comes the news that the old 69th, the embodiment of Catholic New York's ardent Americanism, has gone over the top! This is a fitting prelude to the patriotic movement we have come to inaugurate. The Feast of St. Patrick was a happy choice as the day on which to begin.

Recall this anniversary in the years that have passed. Proud of the 69th and its traditions, an honorable and a noble inheritance from the battles of our Civil War, we were thrilled as that splendid promise of our future national defense swept up Fifth Avenue. Today that promise is being fulfilled; the 69th is in the trenches, faithful to its traditions a bulwark of the country it had sworn to defend.

Mr. Secretary, the sons, the brothers, the kinsmen of many in this audience are with the 69th in Lorraine; scarce one in this gathering which you have honored with your presence, who is not bound by some tender tie to a lad in khaki, or one of your own brave boys in blue. More must go to fill our depleted ranks and man our ships before this struggle is won.

It is not strange then, nay it would be unnatural if the sentiment which animates this meeting were not of a commingling of joy and sorrow, a blending of gladness and anxiety, a mixture of hope and fear. Already some of our brave lads have made the sacrifice of supreme devotion, either on the battle scarred soil of France or in the depths of the trackless sea. Many more must die that this nation may live. We grieve for the brave men who

have fallen, for the heroic deaths which have destroyed the radiant hopes of fond parents, for the broken staffs upon which old age had hoped to lean. Sobered and saddened we realize that a great national treasure of youth must redeem the nation. Anxieties sway us and fear clutches our souls at the thought of the sorrows and the separations which must be endured. Strongly outlined by memory's art before the mind of practically every lady and gentleman here tonight is the fond face of a dear son, a loving brother, a soldier sweetheart, a trusted friend who has answered his country's call.

Yet our grief, our anxieties, our manly fears are bitter sweet. The powerful incentive which has nerved the men who have gone pervades this meeting, tempers our sorrow with joy, relieves our anxiety with gladness and brings hope to our fearful hearts. Beyond all ties of family and of friendship, more vital than private interests and individual concerns, dearer than our lives, more precious than our treasures is our country, whose Government, Mr. Secretary, you so ably represent.

This Motherland of ours is imperilled. Her children must defend her. Their patriotism must be stronger than a mere emotion, more powerful than even the noblest sentiment. Our affectionate patriotism must spring from and be inspired by a religious conviction. Next after God we must love the land of our political allegiance. God rules throughout His entire creation. This wonderful, beneficent, and well ordered human society which we call the United States of America is His. In that sense all religious minded Americans without any suspicion of vain boasting must regard theirs as God's own country. The Administration which governs us exercises a divine delegation for the proper ordering and regulation of our temporal affairs, just as the Church is God's appointed agent in spiritual jurisdiction upon this earth. Legitimate authority in the

social order is necessary for the protection of our own and our neighbor's rights and submission to such authority is not only a civil but a religious obligation as well.

In this crisis our duty is clear, manifest and well defined. No civilized being can be indifferent to the shedding of blood. Upon our very souls, the Hand of God has engraved the command: Thou shalt not Kill. But even as the natural law permits an individual to repel force by force, so in the political order a nation which refuses to respect the just rights of its neighbors must be forcibly restrained. We have not entered this war in any spirit of military bravado; we have grasped the sword, to which our unskilled arms are little accustomed, to destroy just such a spirit. We have not nurtured our strength to conquer and dominate the weak; we have dedicated it to the service of the oppressed. We are not seeking material gain, more territory, large indemnities, enforced commercial superiority; we are fighting to uphold those ideals of political liberty and freedom which guarantee to every nation, great and small, peaceful possession of its territory, unhampered development of natural resources, and equal opportunities in industrial and commercial competition.

For almost three years, we watched the struggle between military aggression and political justice. No plea of expediency can justify the invasion of our rights which forced us into the conflict. In desperation, the Central Powers laid a ravaging and destroying hand upon the lives and property of our citizens. No satisfactory redress, no guarantee against future molestation being assured us, the Senate of the United States declared a just and necessary war.

This meeting, Mr. Secretary, is a pledge of our unqualified approval and support of our Government in the war. It is a notable Catholic contribution in national service, assisted by citizens of every faith in this city.

We are appealing for a War Fund of $2,500,000. to carry on religious, social and recreational work in our camps here and overseas. Every cent we collect is for all the boys, regardless of their belief. Every dollar contributed to this fund is dedicated to the Government. We want to help the Government to win the war.

Our campaign is both patriotic and religious. We believe that the most powerful inspiration, the most ardent courage, the purest patriotism, the most unselfish devotion, the firmest confidence, reside in the soldier whose conscience is without reproach. Experience in war has long since taught the world the moral evils which follow in its train. We want to protect our manhood from such shameful ruin. We want to give our boys that spiritual aid and moral support to which they are accustomed in the more restraining and safer atmosphere of their homes. We want our Catholic fathers and mothers to be assured that no matter where their sons may go the priest will be their constant companion—the shepherd of their souls in every danger.

Mr. Secretary, we have the highest admiration for our Government's splendid Christian co-operation in affording us every facility to protect our boys from such danger, and through you we desire to express our gratitude to His Excellency the President. Your own fatherly solicitude in this respect for the officers and men of the Navy has earned for you the affectionate esteem of Christian parents and sisters throughout the country, and your presence with us to-night will be remembered by the Catholic people of New York. The sympathy for and interest in this campaign shown by the non-Catholic public of New York, which you, Dr. Manning, on behalf of the Protestant churches, and you, Rabbi Silverman, for our fellow citizens of the Jewish faith, represent with such distinction, touch us profoundly.

Mr. Agar, to you is due in no small measure the success which we inaugurate to-night. The lavish expenditure of time and money which it has cost you has been a service of love for God and country. To you, to Mr. William D. Guthrie, and to the gentlemen on the various Committees, both the Church and Nation owe a deep and lasting debt of gratitude. The General Committee, of which Mr. Iselin is Chairman, the Finance Committee presided over by Mr. Clarence Mackay, the Speakers and Meetings Committee so ably directed by Mr. Arthur Kenedy, the Down Town Committee under the leadership of the Hon. Morgan J. O'Brien, assisted by Mr. Nicholas F. Brady and Mr. Alfonso de Navarro, Mr. Robert Hoguet's Committee on Lists and Quotas, Mr. Alfred Johnson's Publicity Committee, all these have labored earnestly for this great cause. The Ladies also under the presidency of Mrs. Cabot Ward and her equally devoted assistants, Mrs. Cornelius Tiers and Mrs. J. Walter Wood, were most untiring and energetic in their efforts. As a result of this work of preparation and in response to the promptings of your own generous hearts, you ladies and gentlemen are gathered here to begin this Campaign. I thank you for this service, and pray that the blessing of God will be with you on your mission.

Ladies and Gentlemen, two very modest gentlemen are here this evening whom we must not forget. To Mr. Hubert McDonnell and Mr. Harvey J. Hill, Directors of this Campaign, we acknowledge our obligations. Mr. Hill's experience, his executive ability, his tact, his contagious enthusiasm, all these have been contributed without stint to our effort. Mr. McDonnell has devoted all his time to the Campaign, and has been assisted in Headquarters by equally zealous and efficient assistants. We thank these gentlemen most cordially.

The Knights of Columbus, that splendid Catholic

organization, which so providentially initiated our war camp activities, can not be praised unduly. Mr. Larkin, you will have an opportunity to explain this work in detail. I rejoice to have this occasion to re-express our indebtedness to the Order for its services to both the Church and Country. For his generous use of that great gift of persuasive and stirring eloquence, in various Knights of Columbus campaigns conducted in other cities, the Columbian Order and the Church in America must ever be grateful to the Hon. W. Bourke Cockran. At no small personal inconvenience by reason of a previous engagement, he accepted my invitation to speak to-night. I know he could not refuse; the motive was too compelling. Mr. Cockran is a true American Catholic.

For the Diocesan Clergy's activity in this movement other voice than mine must speak. Five per cent. of their number are with the forces. Many are restive in the unexciting duties of parochial work, and Bishop Hayes, whom the Holy Father has honored by his appointment as Camp Bishop for the Army and Navy of the United States, is only too anxious to accept them for his far-flung diocese. We shall spare as many as we can, and shall pray that God may ever protect them and the boys to whom they minister.

Ladies and gentlemen, we must be prepared for a night of sorrow before victory dawns. But that night will be illumined by the silver rays of unshaken confidence and undaunted faith. Through that night in the high sanctuary of our Catholic hearts, we shall pray, and sacrifice and endure for our men who have gone down in the dark plain of war. A radiant morn will come disclosing victorious legions on our Via Triumphalis. God of battles, hear us; judge our cause; give us justice, freedom and peace.

REV. DR. MANNING'S ADDRESS

It gives me special pleasure to be at this meeting presided over by His Eminence, Cardinal Farley, for whom, in common with all good citizens of New York, I feel a profound respect and regard; and to have some small part in this Campaign which you are carrying on to help win the War.

I am glad to have this opportunity to pay my tribute of honor and admiration to your great Communion for its splendid contribution to the spirit of loyalty and patriotism in our land, for its stand in this tremendous struggle for Right, for America, and for God; for the great number of men it is sending into the armies of our country, and last, though by no means least, for the way in which you are following up your men and giving them the blessed supports and comforts of religion in the camps, in the trenches, or wherever they may be.

You are setting an example which we may all be proud to follow in the care and devotion with which your priests are carrying the help of Christ and His Church to your boys. And your men in the ranks are showing in a wonderful way the power which religion has over them and its practical effects in their lives. You are showing to America, and to the world, that the Catholic Religion makes not only good Christians but also brave soldiers and true Americans.

I confess that I look with deep pride at the great service flag with more than five hundred stars on it which hangs in the Churchyard of Old Trinity down near Wall Street. But I want to say here that I look with equal satisfaction at that magnificent flag with its still

greater number of stars which hangs over the doorway of St. Patrick's Cathedral. I believe, and I hope with all my heart that this experience of War is going largely to do away with that narrow religious prejudice and bitterness of which we have had too much in the past. It is going to bring all of us, Jew and Christian, Protestant and Catholic, nearer to reality and to God; and as we stand nearer to Him we shall be drawn nearer to each other.

We are still going to have our different convictions. We are not going to surrender our religious principles. We are not going to join in that thoughtless cry which declares that creeds are unimportant, as though religion could continue without any clear and definite belief. Some people seem to suppose that we are now going to agree on everything in general because none of us any longer believe anything in particular. We are going to be clear and loyal each in his own faith, but we are not going to hate and suspect and malign one another because we differ in some of our convictions. We are going to respect and believe in one another all the more for the honesty and consistency with which each one holds and practises his faith.

Of all the newspapers, secular or religious, in this whole land, the one that is most appropriately named is that which bears the sinister title of "The Menace". If such an organ could be taken seriously, it would be a menace indeed. But thank God there are few people to be found to-day who take such a paper as this seriously.

From my heart I wish you the fullest possible success in this campaign for the noble work of the Knights of Columbus. I hope the fund which you are seeking to raise will be subscribed and largely oversubscribed, and I hope all patriotic people, without respect to creed, will give their support to it.

This winter at Camp Upton I have had full opportunity to see what this work of the Knights of Columbus is accomplishing, and I say it deserves the support of every intelligent and patriotic American.

It is sometimes suggested with the best of intentions, that the Y. M. C. A., the Knights of Columbus, and the Jewish Welfare Board, ought all to be combined in one organization. I want to say that this would be the greatest possible mistake. You might as well say that the Army would be strengthened by combining the Infantry, the Artillery, and the Engineers. We need them all, and each one has its own work to do. To combine them would be a loss of power, and it would not work. Two terrier dogs will play around the same yard with perfect friendliness and good feeling, but take the same two dogs and tie their tails tight together and you will soon see what will happen. In about one minute you will have a fight going on that will rouse the whole neighborhood.

Under the present arrangement, with proper freedom for each, these agencies work in the friendliest spirit of cooperation. I found myself a short time ago sending a letter written on Y. M. C. A. paper, in a Knights of Columbus envelope, to a woman of my own Communion, about some things needed by a Jewish boy in my regiment. No agencies are doing more to help win the War than the Knights of Columbus, the Y. M. C. A., and the Jewish Welfare Board, and they are all needed.

We are going to give to this struggle the whole power and strength of our great nation. On our side of it, this is not a war for any selfish purpose or ambition.

We want nothing but right and justice for ourselves and for all other men, our enemies included.

We do not want to see Germany enslaved. We want to see, and we are determined to see, her set free from

those evil forces which have misled her and made her a menace to the world.

This is a war to decide what the whole future of the world is to be. It is a war to decide whether you and I, and our children after us, are to have the right to live our lives in peace and freedom, or whether we are to live under the threat and menace of the most brutal power this world has ever seen.

If Germany is to win, if the principles of Prussianism are to prevail, this world will have been carried backward more than two thousand years, and every bit of moral progress made in that period will have been swept away.

If Prussianism is to conquer we shall be living in a world in which the Ten Commandments have been cast aside and the Christian Religion has been repudiated.

And for this reason we declare before God that Prussianism shall not win, and that this battle shall end in no stalemate.

Because we are determined to have peace, because we are determined to have justice and freedom in this world, we will listen to no false talk of peace until the power which crucified Belgium has been crushed and broken. Until that is accomplished we know that there can be no peace. Until that is done no treaty under heaven will be worth the paper it is written on. And that power can be broken only by decisive victory on the battlefield. Our cry as we go into this conflict is "Once and for all—Never again—The task shall now be completely done."

For the sake of the world, and of humanity, we will stop at no sacrifice until peace is won, lasting and secure, by full victory for the right. And there is no way in which you and I can better help to bring that victory soon than by giving our support to this work which the Knights of Columbus are doing for your boys, who are also our boys, and who are fighting for all of us.

REV. JOSEPH SILVERMAN'S ADDRESS

We meet tonight on a common platform, consisting of three great ideals: One God, one country and one humanity. We meet under the auspices of religion, in the name of patriotism, for the sake of mankind. This gathering of Catholics, Protestants and Jews, rather let me say, of Americans of all shades of belief, and similar gatherings, represents one of the greatest by-products of the war. Let the skeptics cry out, that religion has failed, because forsooth it did not prevent and can not stop the war; we know better. Not religion has failed, but those warlords of the Central Powers have failed, because, though professing religion, they have not practised it. True religion is doing all it can to counteract the horrors and brutalities of the conflict, to overcome some of the barbarism of frightfulness. True religion, as far as this war is concerned, is crystallized in the Red Cross Association, the Y. M. C. A., the Knights of Columbus and the Jewish Welfare Board and in all other efforts that are sincerely conceived and justly executed for the amelioration of suffering and the providing of comfort and cheer. True religion is present tonight; it will support the drive for the Catholic War Fund and it can not fail.

One God

Back of these truly religious efforts is that one God in whom we all believe. He is not the power that impells men to offensive war, to acts of selfishness and conquest, but that power that makes for righteousness, justice, love and peace. That God has never and can never fail. Tyranny may gain temporary victories, but the history

of the world reveals the final triumph of truth and justice. God's power works miracles and through it the Allies will come to their own.

"Not by power nor by might, but by my spirit," saith the Lord. That Spirit has brought us together, a Spirit that makes for strength, courage and victory. And we shall combine tonight to bring that Spirit to our soldiers and sailors. The war will be won, not by guns, but by the men behind the guns; not by men merely, but by the mighty, irresistible Spirit of God behind the men. We must care for the soul of the soldier, for it is the soul that makes a hero. It is the soul that hears the word of command, that suits the action to the word, that quivers not, nor falters in time of danger, but forges straight ahead to victory. We must fortify that soul, keep it pure, brave, noble, cheerful, hopeful, resolute, patriotic—invincible. And we shall do this by showing our boys that we are with them in the training camp, the trench, on the battle field or in the hospital; that the same Lord, who watches over us all, knits our hearts to theirs.

One Country.

This amity of the three great faiths, co-operating to give spiritual strength to the army and navy, is indicative of a united American nation that is supporting the great President of our country in his untiring zeal and activity for the peace of the world. We have now truly become, not merely the United States of America, but the united *people* of America. All classes, all groups, all parties are rallying to mobilize every available force in furtherance of victory. With the eradication of religious prejudice, national, social and racial prejudices will also be eliminated and the way prepared for the permanent alliance of the minds and hearts of all the people. What we shall do here to-night and throughout the week for the Catholic War Fund will contribute

to the further unification of the nation. To that end let our religious fervor and patriotism combine to inspire us with extraordinary enthusiasm in behalf of the great cause that has summoned us.

One Humanity.

Looking beyond our country, the harmony of the various faiths assembled here calls up a vision of the unity of mankind. Our goal in this war is not our own national aggrandisement, but the welfare of the world's democracy. Over there humanity lies bleeding and shattered. It is the duty of religions that preach the brotherhood of man to bind up the torn hearts of the world. It is the duty of the great and free nations to succor the weaker and to liberate humanity from impending thraldom. To this end, that mankind may be united in justice and peace, we pledge our religion and patriotism, our substance and lives.

"Go forth then, men and women, Catholics, Protestants, and Jews; buckle on your armor and gather in the sinews of war. Place them as a free will offering on the altar of God. Use them to nourish and stimulate the souls of our nation's defenders. And when the final victory and peace are won your reward will be what is your inspiration tonight:—*One God, one country and one humanity.*"

HELP THE CATHOLIC WAR DRIVE

IT IS FOR ALL OUR BOYS WITHOUT REGARD TO SECT OR CREED—*HELP IT TODAY!*

B2628

Great Britain's Part in the World War

A SERMON

Preached in Trinity Church, New York

BY THE RECTOR

William T. Manning, S. T. D.

on the

Fourth Anniversary of
Great Britain's Entrance
into the War

Sunday, August 4th, 1918

Printed by Request

Great Britain's Part in the World War.

"This day shall be unto you for a memorial."
Exodus XII. 14.

This is not a day of rejoicing. That will come later when we meet, as we shall meet in due time, to offer up our thanksgivings for peace restored, and assured, by overwhelming victory for the right. That day may still be long in coming. But as there is a just God in heaven it is certain to come, and the good news now reaching us from the front leads us to hope that it may arrive more quickly than it would be safe or wise for us to anticipate.

But though not a day for rejoicing, this fourth of August is one of the greatest days of the world's history. It is a day which all who love right and freedom will keep ever in remembrance. It is the day on which a mighty people—a people linked to us by ties nearer than any other—heard the call of honour, and of duty, and answered it without stopping to count the cost.

On this day four years ago Great Britain met the challenge that was flung at her, and threw all the power of her vast empire into the fight for liberty and civilization. We all know now what would have happened if Britain had hesitated, or held back. The whole world knows what Britain has done in these four fateful years. The Prussian enemy has borne sincere testimony to Britain's part in the struggle, by the special hatred with which he has honoured her. That hatred is the truest tribute that Britain could have received, and it is one which America seems now privileged to share with her.

We Americans recognize and pay honour without stint to the splendid deeds of all our allies in this war. We

stand in reverence before the sublime heroism of noble France; before the supreme courage and sacrifice of the martyr nation, Belgium; before the valor and the great achievements of dauntless Italy; before the sufferings of brave, unconquerable Serbia. But the debt that we, and all who love freedom, owe to the British Empire, is one that holds its own great place in the world's gratitude, and that can never be repaid nor forgotten. What words can express the debt that we, and the world, owe at this moment, and have owed during these four years to the British Fleet, keeping its ceaseless watch for all of us in the grey North Sea?

From the first week of the war Britain has poured out her treasure and her blood without limit in the cause that is common to us all. It is Britain's blockade that has held the German Fleet captive in the safety of the harbour from which it has scarcely dared to emerge. It is Britain's ships that have cleared the seas of every German vessel, save only the undersea pirates who war on women and children and shoot defenseless sailors in their boats; and these foul craft are now largely controlled, thank God, with the aid which our own gallant Navy is proud to render. It is British transports that have carried across the ocean sixty per cent. of the army of our noble boys now in France, where they have made such a glorious beginning, and have brought such unshakable confidence to our war-worn allies. It is British destroyers which have helped in large part to convoy these transports in safety. It is the men of Britain who came voluntarily from all parts of the earth to fight for freedom beneath her flag, and to form the greatest volunteer army the world has ever seen. It is Britain, a million of whose brave sons lie to-day in soldiers' graves, and whose casualties during the great drive of last March numbered forty thousand or more each separate week.

Like ourselves, when the German assault came, Britain had no army for aggressive war. She was as unprepared on land as we were. She did not expect nor desire war, nor believe that it could come in this age. She had far less time to prepare for the great ordeal than we have had. For her own preservation and for the preservation of freedom, she was forced to leap into the breach all unarmed as she was. Without Great Britain's aid, France would have been beaten down and overcome. It was she and France together who held the monster at bay. It was Britain's action which gave us Americans time, and allowed us to enter the struggle under conditions far better than those which she herself had faced. And let us never forget the honour that is justly and distinctively due to England. It was England, the mother land, who made the great decision which saved honour and good faith among nations from utter wreck and discredit. If England had faltered, or failed, the history of this war would have been a history of shame, and the outlook for mankind would have been darkened for centuries to come. But England did not hesitate. She upheld the highest standard of right and justice. She saved the very foundations of good faith among nations. We thank God this day that England did not fail to do her duty.

With good reason, gladly, and with our whole hearts, we join in commemorating the day of Britain's entrance into the war. We acknowledge the great debt that we owe to the British Navy, to those intrepid sailors whom our French brethren have recently called "the unseen and silent conquerors" of Germany on the sea, and we honour no less the splendid services of the equally heroic men of her merchant marine. We pay to-day our tribute to the officers and men, heroes all, of that first Expeditionary Force who went forward instantly against un-

numbered odds to certain death; who made the retreat from Mons one of the most glorious pages in all military history, who bore their splendid part in the first great battle of the Marne, who will bear forever the immortal name of "Britain's contemptible little army."

We pay our tribute equally to the vast army of free men which has followed that first little force and which shares to the full its tradition and its spirit; that army of seven million men fighting on every front throughout the world; that army, a marvel in its creation, which we associate with the name of Kitchener, and also with the name of Douglas Haig.

We pay our tribute to the five million British women who are giving themselves in this conflict with devotion and heroism equal to that of their men.

On this solemn anniversary we offer to Great Britain our pledge of appreciation, of comradeship, and of brotherhood. We send this message to her King, to her Government, and to the men and women of her great free Empire.

1. We give honour beyond measure, admiration without reserve, to your whole people for the part that you have played in these four years. In your great deeds, in the marvellous courage with which you have met the test, we feel a special pride, for you are not only our brethren in arms, we are bound to you by other and still deeper ties. We thank God that our men are now fighting beside you and our brethren of France. They will be with you in ever increasing numbers until the stern task is completed. We shall give our whole life and power as a people to this struggle. Never in any war that we have fought have our people been so united, so determined, so wholly certain of the righteousness of their cause as in this war.

2. The American people will never listen to any proposal to end this war except by complete and decisive victory on the battle-field. We want the little group of unreasoning Pacifists in Great Britain to know that their views will find no support from the United States, and that their suggestions of peace by negotiation with the Prussian power arouse in us only moral disgust. We do not understand men who talk of bartering with the power which holds Belgium captive, which still has its brutal, merciless hand on France, which holds Russia in its treacherous toils, and whose avowed object is to subjugate the world. We are not going to barter with Germany. With Britain, and our other allies, we are going to dictate to Germany the terms of a just peace, and we are going to compel her, hereafter, to keep the peace. The man who is willing to listen to any compromise in this struggle, the man who feels no burning indignation and wrath against the crimes and outrages that Germany has committed, and is still to-day committing, that man, whoever he may be, is one who has suffered some strange weakening of his moral sense and of his manhood.

The teaching of these Pacifists is disregard of justice and treason to mankind. It is not advocacy of peace, it is betrayal of peace and encouragement of war. We will hear of no peace by negotiation with a power which respects no treaty and regards no law in heaven or on earth. As President Wilson has said, so long as Germany is controlled by her present rulers no nation on earth can take her word. We want peace. This is our one and only desire. But we know that until the Prussian Military power is broken there can be no peace. No real lover of peace, no man who cares at all for justice, can want an inconclusive ending to this war. Because we want peace we will listen to no word of peace with an undefeated and unrepentant Prussia.

To the American people the ending of this war by decisive victory is a matter of determined resolve and of deep religious conviction.

3. It is the hope, the prayer, and the firm purpose of us Americans, that out of this great struggle shall come a league and brotherhood of nations that shall maintain justice, and preserve peace. The sure basis and foundation for this is full fellowship among the English speaking peoples throughout the world. And already the war has brought this fellowship to pass. The old Anti-British feeling which had place among us in this land is gone, we hope, forever. It is not now even tolerated among us. It was fostered by some elements of our population, and during the days of our neutrality it was eagerly exploited by the German propagandists. But like the rest of their propaganda it failed to influence us. To-day it is branded among us as it deserves. Every loyal American to-day is, and must be, loyal to all our allies. And the war has made us glory as never before in our close ties with Britain,—the tie of a common language, the tie of common principles and ideals, the tie of a common heritage of liberty, the tie still, in large degree, of stock and of blood.

The fellowship and brotherhood of the English speaking peoples does not need to be artificially created, nor arranged by treaty; it exists as a fact, and, please God, it will ever endure. This fellowship has no selfish aim nor purpose. It will seek no sordid advantage for itself, but only the common good of all. It will be the guarantee of right and freedom to men everywhere. It is the basis, already prepared, for a true world-brotherhood, including all freedom-loving peoples, whatever tongue they speak. We hope that this true brotherhood of nations will be the great result of the war, and its greatest compensation.

In it there will be place for all. There will be place in it even for Germany herself, later on, when she has fully learned her lesson, when she has evacuated Belgium, restored Alsace-Lorraine to France, made reparation and restitution so far as possible for the great wrongs that she has committed, and renounced forever her monstrous schemes of world domination.

This is the vision that we have before us—the brotherhood not only of the English speaking peoples, but of all the nations of the world. And Great Britain and all our allies share this vision with us. To it we have now consecrated ourselves completely. We know that this purpose has the blessing and approval of Almighty God, for it means the fuller coming in this world of the Kingdom of His Son. Side by side with Britain, and with all our allies, we shall strive, and pray, and fight with our whole might that it may be realized.

A Thanksgiving Day

Address

Delivered in

Trinity Church, New York

By the Rector

William T. Manning, S. T. D.

Thursday, November 28, 1918

We have never known a Thanksgiving Day like this one. Heretofore this day has been one of thankfulness for the blessings of peace and plenty and liberty here in our own land. To-day we offer our thanks to Almighty God for the preservation of justice and freedom for all mankind.

1. We thank God to-day for deliverance from the greatest peril which has threatened the world since history began.

The triumph of Prussian autocracy would have meant the overthrow of all the progress that this world has made since the coming of Jesus Christ. It would have meant the enthronement of brutal might, the downfall of democracy and brotherhood, the chaining and enslaving of the human spirit for centuries to come.

2. We thank God for the soundness of mind and heart shown by the American people as a whole in this great day of crisis. Our people have never held back. Whenever the leaders were ready to act the people have been more than ready to follow. Our people have not once hesitated when the call came. They have given their life, their wealth, their energy, with a willingness, and a lavishness, that have known no limit.

The mind and conscience of the American people were sound in their insistent demand that there should be no terms with Germany but unconditional surrender. Their instinct is equally sound in demanding, as they do now emphatically demand, that there shall be no compromise of the principles of stern justice in the peace settlement, and that through no adroit diplomacy of our enemies shall we for one moment be made the mouthpiece of German pleas and claims against our friends and

allies and brothers in arms who have borne such unparalleled sacrifices in the cause of right.

3. We thank God for the great and needed lessons that this war has taught us. There are too many of these even to mention. This solemn experience of war has remade us. It has reawakened our moral sense, renewed our ideals, called forth in us a new spirit of service. It has brought us back to plainer living and clearer thinking. We see more clearly than ever the dangers and evils of militarism; but we see also the dangers of that sentimental, immoral pacifism into which we had been carried much too far. We see clearly now that if we love right and freedom, we must be willing, and also prepared, to defend them with our lives if need be. The response made by our people to this call to war is the vindication of Democracy.

It was believed by some that Democracy would not fight to defend its life and its ideals against attack. The spirit of our boys at the front, and the spirit of our whole people, has silenced that fear forever.

But for the saving of our sons' lives, let us see to it that we are never again found unprotected, unprepared, and not even willing to prepare, as we were when this great crisis met us. Let us now adopt, as a permanent part of our life, a moderate system of Universal Military Training. I say this not only from the standpoint of its military value, but also from the standpoint of its moral and spiritual value for our young men. It will be our greatest possible insurance against war. It will be a great nation-wide school of training in character, in loyal citizenship, in true democracy.

The old argument of the pacifists that military training necessarily leads to war has been sufficiently refuted by experience. That argument has cost the world untold blood and sorrow in the past four years. If England

had been prepared on land as she was on the water, and if our country had been even moderately prepared, how different the story would have been! In that case, Germany would never have started on her wild orgy of crime, or if she had done so, she would speedily have been stopped.

It was Britain's preparation on the sea which saved us and the world from disaster.

We do not want a great standing army in this country. What we need is a people trained and prepared for their own defense in case of need. It is this which a wise and moderate system of Universal Training like that of Switzerland will give us.

4. In conclusion let me speak a word of warning. We thank God to-day for the overthrow of one great peril to the world. There is another enemy among us. There is one enemy which is even more abhorrent and more vile than Prussian Autocracy. It is the movement that we have come to speak of as Bolshevism.

We have no reason to be alarmed at this menace. Our freedom-loving people will tolerate no such foul thing among us. But we have good reason to be on guard. We have reason to watch the tendencies in this direction which are manifest in some high places. We have reason to watch the cleverly-edited magazines of high class, the loose-minded and notoriety-hunting intellectuals, the time-serving politicians, the disloyal jellow journals which are lending themselves to this propaganda. "Place none but Americans on guard to-night." That is the spirit in which we must do our part now. It is time to call things by their true names. The leaders of the Bolshevist movement in Russia are a band of criminals such as the world has rarely seen. They stand convicted by their deeds. Any in this land who defend or uphold them must be recognized and regarded accordingly.

It is time for true Americans to speak out unhesitatingly for those principles of justice, of liberty, of order, of equal opportunity, of individual independence and initiative, upon which our national life is founded, and to make it clear beyond all misunderstanding that in this free land there is no place for any German propaganda of Bolshevism nor for its disgraceful symbol, the Red Flag.

THEODORE ROOSEVELT

An Address

Delivered in

Trinity Church, New York

By the Rector

WILLIAM T. MANNING

At the Memorial Service

Held under the auspices

of the

AMERICAN DEFENSE SOCIETY

Sunday, February 9th, 1919

America is mourning one of her greatest sons. All over the land to-day our people are remembering before God the name of Theodore Roosevelt.

And this memorial service in Trinity Church has special significance because it is held under the auspices of the American Defense Society, of which he was Honorary President; and to which he addressed his last public message, which you have just heard read.

We can scarcely believe that he is no longer with us. It seems impossible to think of America without him.

In 1852, Motley, while abroad received news of the death of Daniel Webster. Writing to his father he said: "As for thinking of America without Webster, it seems like thinking of her without Niagara, or the Mississippi."

It is so that men feel at the death of Theodore Roosevelt. He seemed like one of the elemental forces of our life. In every situation, and on every question, his attitude was to be considered, and was a vital factor.

For nearly a quarter of a century he was the first citizen of our Republic. And he was more than this. He was one of the commanding figures of the world; a force felt by men everywhere.

In the hearts and minds of our people, Theodore Roosevelt holds a great and abiding place. More than any other American since Abraham Lincoln he embodied the spirit, and the ideals of our land. There are few mothers in America who would not wish their sons to have the spirit of Theodore Roosevelt.

His powers and attainments were extraordinarily varied. He found time to excel in widely differing pursuits. His energy and versatility were almost beyond belief. He was a ranchman, a writer, a hunter, an explorer, a naturalist, a soldier, a historian. But to him these were all minor occupations. His supreme interest was in the welfare of his country and in whatever had to do with this. It is in relation to our National life that we all think of him, as President, as citizen, and as a man.

His services after the expiration of his term as President were so great that they have almost obscured those which he rendered as our Chief Executive. It is nevertheless a fact that the administration of President Roosevelt was one of the most crucially important and epoch marking chapters in our history.

He was the first President to recognize the responsibility of the Government in regard to social conditions. He entered the White House at a time when things almost impossible, and certain to arouse bitter misunderstanding and opposition, needed to be done, and in great measure he succeeded in accomplishing them. He stirred the conscience of the country and gave our business and industrial life a new standard. There was in him no unworthy pandering to a particular class of men. He was as fearless in his dealings with labor as with capital. He had no ignorant antagonism to Big Business as such, but he was as intolerant of wrong doing by Big Business as he was of the crimes plotted or committed by the I. W. W. or other anarchistic organizations.

If our country is now in condition to resist the poison of Bolshevism we owe this, in large measure, to Theodore Roosevelt, for it was he who made the fight, at the critical time, and gave us the new spirit that we needed.

As a citizen Theodore Roosevelt set a high standard indeed. One of our worst national sins is our disregard of civic obligation, our disposition to let Government take care of itself without any serious effort on our part. With Theodore Roosevelt duty and service to the country stood always first. He gave us a most striking example of a man devoting his whole powers to the state. His vigorous character greatly affected the tone of our political life. He proved the falsity of the maxim that an honest man cannot be in politics. He inspired, and will continue to inspire, our young men with ambition for service; for his career is proof that a man who is fearless, honest and true to the highest ideals can win success in public life.

As a man, we all know well what his qualities were. We cannot hear his name without thinking of his courage, his sincerity of purpose, his strong conviction, his deep love for the right and his unflinching advocacy of it. He made mistakes, like other men, but he always upheld the right as he saw it, and it was this which gave the people their great confidence in him.

There are many good people in this world who want the good to prevail, but who are unwilling to do anything which will cause friction, or which will bring them into conflict with evil. Theodore Roosevelt was not of this class. He knew that the good cannot be made to prevail by that method. He was ready always to withstand what he believed to be evil, and to uphold what he believed to be good. He did not stop to think whether the cause was popular. No thought of the consequences to himself or to his personal interests seemed to occur to him. If the thing was right it was to be advocated; and he had

absolute confidence that if it were fully presented to them the people would see that it was right. He struck hard blows, but he harbored no petty spites nor mean resentments. He aroused strong opposition and fierce criticism as every leader must at times, but in amazing degree he won the admiration, the respect, the affection even of those who most strongly opposed him. It was said sometimes that he was inconsistent. And this was true. But his inconsistency was that of every man who thinks and grows and lives. Theodore Roosevelt did not stand still. He grew and developed in fellowship with the world and with his time, and it was this that made him always a leader. But he advanced in accordance with sound and definite principles.

The outstanding note of his life was his straightforward sincerity. He was possessed by an astonishing spirit of candor. For him nothing else but open diplomacy and full publicity were possible. There was never anything uncertain or obscure about the words that he used. When he spoke, men were in no doubt as to what he meant to say. No phrase of his needed to be interpreted to make its meaning clear. He never expected others to follow him without knowing where he was leading. Men might disagree with him but they knew always where he stood, and on which side he was. He took his fellow citizens absolutely into his confidence, and it was for this, among other things that they so trusted and loved him.

And through all his life there ran the note of strong, simple religious conviction. This was the basis of his unfailing hopefulness and courage. His faith in God was as robust and real as his faith in men. We honor him as a great American, a true man, a sincere and unashamed Christian.

Long and brilliant as was his career in public office, it was his privilege to wield his greatest influence, and render his noblest service as a private citizen, and in the latest years of his life.

The name of Theodore Roosevelt will stand forever associated with the entrance of America into the world war.

It was his voice far more than any other, which roused the soul of our country and brought us to ourselves before it was too late. It was his fearless witness which compelled our people to see the truth and to meet their responsibility.

In the day when America stood neutral before the greatest moral crisis in history, when the pacifist spirit was dominant, when the soul of our nation seemed to be

dulled and deadened, when men in highest place were saying that this was Europe's war, that its issues did not concern us, that the war spirit among us was being fomented by the munition makers, Theodore Roosevelt's voice sounded the call to honor and to duty. His strong championship of right urged us to the course which after two and a half years of hesitation, we took at last.

It was he who led in the demand that there should be no terms with Germany but unconditional surrender.

And when the fighting was ended, it was his voice which was again lifted up for a just and righteous settlement, and against a soft and immoral peace.

No one of open mind will question the great part played by Theodore Roosevelt in the world battle for righteousness and freedom. His unmatched service during this period will stand clear in the pages of history.

It was his fervent desire to have part in the struggle at the front. This opportunity was denied him but he gave that which was dearer to him than his own life. He sent four sons into the fighting line, all to prove themselves worthy of him, and of their country—one of them never to return.

His unceasing labors during the war, and the shock of his son Quentin's death no doubt hastened his end. His loss to the country is an irreparable one. It seems as though he could not be spared at this time. A mighty leader has fallen. But as Americans it is our part to carry on.

This is a day when many are confused in mind, and are giving their support to dangerous and disruptive influences without realizing what they are doing.

It is a day when many, both men and women, are guided by emotion rather than by well thought out principle and clear judgment. Let us stand against that pacifist spirit which seems to see little difference between truth and falsehood, between honor and dishonor, between the wronged and the wrong doer. Let us stand for the ideal of American freedom and individual liberty and against those influences which are tending to weaken or destroy it. Let us stand for a Government owned and controlled and run by the people, and not for a people owned body and soul, and run by the Government. Let us stand for the Constitution of the United States and against all, no matter how good their intentions, who are using their influence to impair it, or to create distrust in it, or to overthrow it. So shall we best do our part as Americans. And so shall we best honor the name and memory of Theodore Roosevelt.

The Fifth Synod

of

The Province of Washington

Sermon at Opening Service

by

The Rev. William T. Manning, D. D.

Rector of Trinity Church,

New York City

Preached at St. Paul's Church,
Norfolk, Virginia,
November 16th, 1920

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Christian Unity

a Sermon by

The Rev. Wm. T. Manning, D. D.

There shall be one flock, and one shepherd.

—St. John, x:16.

Those words express the mind of Our Lord for His Church. The question of Christian Unity is not one to be decided on grounds of expediency or of preference or of practical advantage. For us the will of Christ is final and commanding. And in this matter His will is clearly made known to us.

No Christian, whether he call himself Catholic or Protestant, has the right to be indifferent upon this subject in the face of the prophecy that "there shall be one flock, and one shepherd," and of the prayer "that they all may be one."

The question "Is Unity desirable?" or "Is Unity possible?" is ruled out of Christian discussion by the voice of Jesus Christ. It is He Who calls us to heal our difference and to come together in Him. And more than ever before the hearts of Christians are stirred in answer to that call. In recent years this feeling has been constantly increasing. All over the world it has been manifesting itself in efforts and movements of various sorts. And the need of Unity has been forced home upon us by an unparalleled experience of suffering and tragedy. The World War showed us with new clearness the impotence and failure of a divided Church.

This was the situation when the Bishops of the Anglican Communion met in conference last August. There was eager interest and deep concern as to what they would say in regard to Reunion. It was recognized that this was the subject of importance beyond all comparison to be considered. It was felt widely that unless the conference should make some really great utterance on this question the loss would be incalculable. The moment was one of spiritual crisis. We know well how many factors the Bishops have to consider, the wide differences of opinion and conviction among them, the many different influences brought to bear upon them. Bishops like the rest of us are human. What could be expected and hoped for? Was it possible for the Conference constituted as it was, with its diversity of views representing every type and shade of churchmanship, to give forth a truly great message for the inspiration and guidance of the Church in this supreme matter?

The answer to these questionings came in a pronouncement which is by far the most notable ever made by a Lambeth Conference, which marks a new point of progress in the approach towards Unity, which has challenged the attention of the Christian world, and of which the full significance will only gradually be realized.

This Appeal to all Christian People issued at Lambeth will be recognized in time as one of the greatest utterances in the history of the Church, a guide and landmark on the way to Reunion.

There are two things which stand out at once in connection with this Declaration. The first of these is the extraordinary unanimity with which it was adopted; the second is the spirit in which it is conceived and expressed.

The practical unanimity in this matter must be regarded as no less than miraculous. Any one who knows the composition of the gathering must feel this. Only the presence of God the Holy Spirit in this Council can account for it. The assertion may safely be ventured that few of those who sat in the Conference would have believed it possible for this statement to be adopted, and not one would have believed that it could be agreed upon by the whole body of Bishops present with only four dissenting votes.

Such a degree of unanimity as to such a statement as this one is in itself an answer, and a sufficient one, to those who would tell us that Unity is an ideal impossible of attainment.

But still more important and significant is the spirit in which this appeal is made. Here is the truest evidence that it was framed under the guidance of God the Spirit.

There is no trace here of the proverbial Anglican caution. There is in this Declaration a boldness of utterance, a humility of spirit, a real grappling with difficulties, a disregard of consequences which has not always been seen in ecclesiastical pronouncements.

This statement is not in the least concerned to maintain the Anglican position or to guard the Reformation Settlement, or to save the face of anyone. It gives no evidence of desire to prove ourselves in the right or others in the wrong. Its one unmistakable endeavor is to see the truth, to face the situation, and call others to face it, exactly as it exists for all of us, for the whole Christian Church today.

It is this which gives this utterance its singular significance and power. It is the message of those who feel that they are under the guidance of the Spirit and who are striving to speak only as the Spirit bids.

It has about it something which reminds us of the first days of the Church when those who sat in council dared to say "It seemed good to the Holy Ghost and to us." And the message is greater than the Bishops or any of us yet fully apprehend.

What then is the practical effect of this Declaration? What change will it make in the existing situation? How will it affect the relation of our own Communion to the rest of the Christian Church? It has already called forth remarkable response from some of the wisest leaders of other Communions, but we must not expect to see its results immediately. It will take time for it to sink into the consciousness of Christians generally. It was Dr. William R. Huntington who first suggested the Lambeth Quadrilateral which prepared the way for this far greater Declaration.

When that pronouncement was under the fire of criticism which all serious proposals for Reunion must be prepared to undergo, Dr. Huntington wrote that it could be better judged

after having been honestly lived up to in the house of its friends and, he added, "fifty years will be a short time for the test." Only about twenty years have passed since those words were written and the value of the Quadrilateral has abundantly been proved. Movements growing out of it and based upon it are at this moment in progress in almost every part of the world.

The Quadrilateral served its great purpose but this Declaration creates a new situation. It does what was in the mind of Dr. Huntington and Dr. Muhlenberg and Bishop Hobart, and all who have prayed and striven in this great cause. It brings the matter before the Christian world in the true spirit, and from the true point of approach. It gives to our Communion a leadership in the movement for Unity which our fellow Christians of other names will rejoice for us to exercise, a leadership which desires not its own but only that which is Christ's, a leadership not in desire to impose terms on others, but in desire to sacrifice whatever may be sacrificed for the sake of the fellowship of all in the one Body, a leadership in faithful maintenance not of anything which is ours but only of that which is God's and is therefore necessary for the full life of the United Church.

Our leaders and Fathers in God, those who have the right to speak for the Anglican Communion have dared to take this position. Their action lays on all of us a new and solemn responsibility. It is for the Church now to follow where the Bishops have led. The Bishops have shown us the place to which we are to go and the way by which it is to be reached. They have set before us the true conception and ideal of the United Church. They have declared what is our present relation to other Christians. It is for us now to move forward in the path which is pointed out to us.

The Bishops call on us first of all to recognize our present fellowship with all other Christians. They lay down the only foundation for Unity, and point out the only possible path of approach to it. They "acknowledge all those who believe in our Lord Jesus Christ, and have been baptized into the Name of the Holy Trinity as sharing with us membership in the universal Church of Christ which is His Body."

This Declaration looks up to Unity as it exists in God. It does not call on us to create Unity. This is where we have so often made our mistake and gone astray. We have talked as though the Church were a thing which we were to make, or as though we were in the Church and our fellow Christians were outside it. This Appeal recognizes that Unity now exists. It declares that all who are in Christ are one in the Church which is His Body. The task for us, and for others, is not to create Unity, but to cease obscuring and obstructing it, to realize it and give it visible expression that Christ may be manifested and men may believe in Him. And so this Appeal to all Christian people is made not to those who are strangers or aliens, but to those who are already our brethren in the one Church. This is a truly great step forward. And yet there

is nothing new in it. Theoretically we have always recognized this. But it is a new thing to have it put forward solemnly and deliberately as the Bishops have declared it. We can never again talk, or think, of other Christians as "outsiders." Our fellow Christians can never again suspect us of "unchurching" them. The Bishops have made our position clear to all. We and our fellow Christians are all one in Christ. But from this follows the unnaturalness, the loss, the sin of our separations and divisions.

As to the question of the Ministry, this Appeal speaks with a clearness and in a spirit which should commend it to the careful consideration of all Christians. It makes great gain by taking this question in the order which belongs to it. We have fallen into much difficulty through taking this important matter out of its right place and relation. The first and supreme fact is our fellowship in the Church. This fact clearly recognized as it is here, we can then go on more intelligently, and far more hopefully to consider the question of the Ministry.

The Declaration acknowledges whole heartedly the spiritual reality and efficacy of the Non-Episcopal Ministries. It declares the necessity for the United Church of a "ministry acknowledged by every part of the Church as possessing not only the inward call of the Spirit, but also the commission of Christ and the authority of the whole body"; a statement with which all should agree.

It then offers the Episcopate as "the one means of providing such a Ministry." This statement that the Episcopate is "the one means of providing such a Ministry" for the whole United Church is one to which many leading Non-Conformists today fully assent.

And then follows what so pronounced a Catholic and so able a theologian as Father Herbert Kelly describes as "the unique grandeur" of this Declaration, the statement that although we cannot repudiate our Ministry any more than we ask others to repudiate theirs, terms of union having been otherwise satisfactorily adjusted, Bishops and Clergy of our Communion would willingly accept from the authorities of other Communions "a form of commission or recognition which would commend our ministry to their congregations as having its place in the one family life." This offer by the Bishops has been interpreted by some as made only to the Roman Catholic and Eastern Churches. Such an interpretation however is quite incorrect. The offer is made especially to the Non-Episcopal Communions, and the language of the Declaration makes this clear. It is in fact based upon an offer made in almost identical words by the Bishop of Zanzibar to the representatives of the Protestant Communions in East Africa. The Chairman of the Committee which drew up this Declaration, the Archbishop of York, has himself made the following comment on this offer:—

"I was born, brought up, and baptized in the Presbyterian Church of Scotland. I was received into the Episcopal Church and am now an

Archbishop. I should esteem it a privilege and an added consecration and of course no repudiation of my orders if our relations with the Presbyterian Church were such that I could now receive such ordination or commission from the Church of my fathers as would enable me to minister in the Presbyterian Church and to administer the Lord's Supper to its people; and I should feel that no Presbyterian minister would repudiate his ministry if he should receive ordination at my hands and while still remaining a minister of the Presbyteran Church be able to administer the Lord's Supper in the Church of England."

One more matter before I close. How does this great Declaration by the Bishops of the Anglican Communion bear upon that practical proposal for approach towards Unity now under consideration by our Communion and known as the Concordat. I have seen some published statements which seemed to imply that the Concordat failed to receive support because the Lambeth Declaration does not mention it by name. Nothing however could be more unwarranted than such an inference.

Quite naturally and necessarily the Declaration does not mention the Concordat by name any more than it mentions the various other proposals of like character which are under consideration in different parts of the world. But the Lambeth Conference had before it in a small, carefully prepared volume all the recently proposed approaches towards Reunion, among them a Proposal by the Bishop of London for union with the Wesleyan Methodists, a Proposal by the Bishop of Zanzibar for union with the Protestant Communions in East Africa, and our own proposed Concordat with the Congregationalists. These three Proposals are the same in principle and are strikingly similar in their main provisions. Each of them provides that Ministers after receiving Episcopal ordination shall continue to minister in their own Communions. Each is based on the very principles embodied in the Lambeth Declaration. And I think those of you who are familiar with both documents will feel that I do not overstate the case when I say that the Lambeth Declaration countenances and supports every principle of the Concordat, and in some important points goes further in the direction of concession than the Concordat does.

Compared with the Declaration on Unity made by the Bishops at Lambeth the Concordat is a rather conservative proposal. On the very lines laid down by this Declaration it is an experiment in the direction of Reunion, but a very carefully guarded one. And how shall we ever make any progress unless we are willing to make some experiments?

If the Bishop of London and the Bishop of Zanzibar are willing to recommend such an experiment why should it throw any of us into panic?

As to the support which the Lambeth Declaration gives to the Concordat, I will mention only a few specific points.

Both the Declaration and the Concordat hold that "the Episcopate is the one means of providing" the commission for exercise of the Ministry in the Universal Church.

The Concordat recognizes the spiritual reality and efficacy of the Non-Episcopal Ministries. The Lambeth Declaration in emphatic terms takes the same position.

The Concordat declares that acceptance of Episcopal Ordination by those otherwise ordained involves no repudiation of their previous Ministry. The Lambeth Declaration says the same thing in almost the same words.

The Concordat provides that Ministers of other Communions after receiving Episcopal Ordination may on certain stated conditions continue to minister in the Communions to which they belong. The Lambeth Declaration is entirely in harmony with this provision. It contemplates the existence of different Groups and Communions in communion with each other within the one Church and says that "Christian Communions now separated from one another would retain much that has long ben distinctive in their methods of worship and service."

The Concordat proposes that while this approach towards Unity is in progress the people entering into the arrangement shall not be required to receive Confirmation before being admitted to the Holy Communion. This is the point which has been most seriously objected to in the Concordat. To make their position as to this point quite clear the Bishops at Lambeth adopted the following resolution in connection with the Declaration on Unity: "The Bishops of the Anglican Communion will not question the action of any Bishop who, in the few years between the initiation and the completion of a definite scheme of union, shall countenance the irregularity of admitting to Communion the baptized but unconfirmed communicants of the Non-Episcopal congregations concerned in the scheme." It would be difficult to imagine any clearer reference to the Concordat, or any stronger support of it than this.

The Lambeth Declaration not only stands for the principle of supplemental ordination, which is the essence of the Concordat, it goes further. It proposes, as we have seen, that Bishops and Clergy of the Anglican Communion without repudiating their Ministry shall receive from the authorities of the Non-Episcopal Communions "a form of commission or recognition which would commend our ministry to their congregations." This very important suggestion was not contained in the Concordat as presented to our last General Convention.

In two other provisions the action taken at Lambeth goes further than the Concordat. It provides that in certain cases where a scheme of reunion is being carried out, but has not yet been brought to completion, Ministers not episcopally ordained shall be allowed to preach and conduct services in our churches, but not to celebrate the Holy Communion, and also that during this transition period they shall be recognized as "of equal status in all Synods and Councils of the United Church" with those episcopally ordained. The Concordat contains no corresponding provisions.

One who is honoured and beloved by all of us, and to whose words I personally listen with the deepest respect, the Bishop of Vermont, has stated recently that there is a marked difference between the Lambeth Declaration on Reunion and the

Concordat, because the Concordat deals "with individual Ministers who might seek ordination by an individual Bishop while retaining their position in the body (Presbyterian, Congregational, Methodist or other) to which they already belonged," whereas "the Lambeth plan contemplates the action not of individuals but of religious bodies." This is, however, a misapprehension as to the nature of the Concordat, and one which has been strangely prevalent. The utmost care was taken by its framers to provide that the Concordat should not deal only with individual Ministers who might seek ordination by an individual Bishop and two facts will, I think, show that this was accomplished:

1. The Concordat specifically requires that a Minister applying for Episcopal ordination shall do so with the consent of the ecclesiastical authorities of the Communion to which he belongs. Without this formal consent of the authorities of his own Communion, and their participation in the matter, the Minister applying may not be ordained.

2. The Commission which is acting in this matter on behalf of the Congregationalists was officially appointed by the National Council of Congregational Churches just as our own Commission, which is acting in this matter, was appointed by our General Convention. It is evident, therefore, that the Concordat does not deal only with individual Ministers.

The Concordat is now under consideration by the two Commissions appointed respectively by our own Church and the Congregational Church to continue the conference in regard to it. What will be its final form as a result of these conferences no one can now say. Whether it will be approved and accepted by the governing bodies of the two Communions primarily moving in regard to it remains to be seen. But in any case its principles have received the all but unanimous support of the Bishops assembled at Lambeth, very many of our American Bishops among the number.

Particular efforts and proposals may succeed or fail. But if undertaken in the right spirit, they all serve their purpose. And the movement towards Reunion is taking place. More than ever before Christians have the vision of it before them. And the vision will be realized. It will be realized because it is from Christ Himself.

Fathers and brethren, let us do all that is in our power to hasten its coming. Let us pray that no act or word of ours may hinder or delay it even for an hour.

Let us thank God and take courage for the noble and worthy message sent forth by the Bishops gathered in conference at Lambeth, the historic centre of the Anglican Communion which is identified so sacredly and from its very beginnings with the whole life and history and development of the English speaking peoples and their great mission in the Church and in the world.

Steadfastness in the Lord

A SERMON

Preached in Trinity Church

at the request of the Vestry

on

The Fourth Sunday in Advent

December 18th, 1921

by

The Right Rev. William T. Manning, D.D., D.C.L.

Bishop of New York

and

Rector of Trinity Parish

"Therefore, my beloved brethren, be ye steadfast, unmoveable, always abounding in the work of the Lord, forasmuch as ye know that your labour is not in vain in the Lord."—I Corinthians, XV, 58.

This service is one the memory of which I shall carry with me until life ends. I shall not try to tell you what it means to me to be here at this Altar, and to stand in this pulpit for the last time as Rector of Trinity Parish. You know this far better than any words of mine could express it. I will only say, that no Rector anywhere in the Church ever had fellow-laborers, Clergy, Vestry and People more patient with his shortcomings, more loyal in their co-operation, more generous in giving their friendship and affection than I have had in this great Parish of Trinity. For the many expressions of kind thought and feeling both from Clergy and People which have come to me in the past months, I must once again express, however inadequately, my deep, affectionate and most grateful appreciation.

The years have passed so quickly and have been so full of interest, that I can hardly believe that I have spent practically one-third of my whole life in Trinity Parish, five years as Vicar of St. Agnes' Chapel and thirteen years as Rector of the Parish. As I look back on these years in Trinity and on all that they bring to mind, the unique relation of the Parish to the life of this great Metropolis; the almost unequalled opportunity of this pulpit for the preaching of the Gospel; the many great and memorable occasions in this historic Church; the never-to-be-forgotten services held here during the War; the great Wednesday Night Services during Lent for the Clergy and people of the whole Parish, year after year, thronging to the doors each one of our great Churches in turn for a simple service of prayer and preaching, and ending

on Wednesday Night in Holy Week with a service here in Trinity Church itself, which none of us who attended it will ever forget—when I think of these things, I cannot realize that my own direct part in them is now to end.

Of the spiritual results which, through God's grace, there have been in these years, it is not possible to speak. Among the practical things which we have together been able to accomplish, I like to think of the complete removal of all doubt or question as to the condition of our dwelling-house property; of the erection of the beautiful Chapel of All Saints as a memorial to our honoured and beloved former Rector, Dr. Dix; of the setting up of our beautiful Churchyard Cross which preaches the Gospel daily to the throngs who pass this spot; of the erection of the Chapel of the Intercession, and the buildings connected with it, one of the noblest groups of ecclesiastical buildings in the country; of the freeing of the pews in Trinity Church, and throughout the Parish, in Thanksgiving to God for the victory given to the cause of justice and liberty in the Great War; and above all else, of the growth of the spirit of fellowship and brotherhood which has been so marked among our people. We have made it our aim, all of us together, to make this Parish of Trinity a great centre of human fellowship in Christ, a great spiritual home for people of every kind and sort; and more and more the people have responded and claimed their full share in the life and work of the Parish.

The connection of the Parish with the entire history of our city and country, the affection in which it is held by the public generally, and especially by those who care for our history and our traditions as a nation, and its relation to the community as a whole as a sort of Municipal Church, a relation much strengthened and intensified during the experiences of the War, give Trinity indeed an unmeasured opportunity.

The important financial reorganization connected with the readjustment of our property holdings, undertaken a few years ago, has been most abundantly justified. Our debt, which some five years ago stood at about five million dollars, as a result of which we have been for a time considerably straitened in our work, now through the admirable management of the Vestry, as you will see from the Comptroller's Annual Report soon to be issued, has been reduced to about four hundred thousand dollars, so that shortly the Parish will be in stronger financial position than ever, and able not only to strengthen its own work but to give far more help, as the Vestry are eager that it shall, beyond its own bounds to the work of the diocese at large.

I shall never cease to give thanks to God for the years that I have had in Trinity Parish, and it is I think of historic interest that during the past seven months, since May 11th, the two offices of Bishop of New York and Rector of Trinity have once again been filled by the same person, as they were during all the early history of the diocese, the last one to hold these two offices being that great Bishop of the Church, and lion-hearted leader of men, John Henry Hobart, whose body lies beneath this Altar.

I thank God with all my heart that one is now coming to you as your Rector who is no stranger to us, but whom many of us already know and love and honour, both as man and as priest. It was my privilege years ago at the request of Dr. Dix to nominate Mr. Stetson as Vicar of Trinity Church, where he worked for several years with me after my own election as Rector. I know him as a brother, and I know how gladly you will give him your affection, your confidence and your full support.

And I am thankful also, beyond words to express, that my own close ties with you, my dear people of Trinity, are not to be severed or ended, but that they are, as I believe and pray, to be

as strong and deep as ever in our new and present relation in the Church of Christ. As your Bishop, I need your prayers, your friendship and your help now more than ever before and I know well that I shall have them. And so my closing word to you today is not at all one of farewell but one of hope and courage for our work together in this great diocese, and of thankfulness for the help on which I know that I may rely from the Clergy and Vestry and People of this steadfast, generous, historic Parish of Trinity. There are three things primarily that we must do, Clergy and People, in all our parishes, all of us together, to make the Church in this diocese the great power for religion and for citizenship that we all want it to be. First, we must call upon our laymen and laywomen to give a larger share of their time, their thought, and their ability, to the daily work of the Church. The time has gone by when the laity can be content to merely travel in the Church like passengers in a Pullman Car, with nothing to do but occasionally show their tickets for their final destination. We must give the laity far more responsibility for the religious work of the Church. The Laity are the Church. They are the Army of Jesus Christ. We must have the whole strength of the Church engaged in the work for Christ. We must do this because it is the only way in which the laity can be seriously and thoroughly interested, and also in order that the Clergy may have time for their own proper work, time to be spiritual leaders, time for their pastoral and priestly duties and for their preaching. If we will do this, we shall have an awakening of life and interest in the Church such as we have not yet even thought of. The moment a layman is given a piece of real work to do he comes to life and becomes a force in the Church.

The second thing we must have before us is even more fundamental. We must set before us a higher standard of spiritual living. We must make our common spiritual aim a higher one.

All of us, Clergy and Laity together, must aim at a higher level of faith and life in Christ. We must make our faith in Jesus Christ a more real and living and personal thing than it is for many of us. We must realize more vividly the relation of personal fellowship, of direct personal responsibility in which we stand to Him as members of His Church. We must have a real revival of personal religion in the Church and in our homes. By our own faithfulness in worship and in Sacrament, by our faithfulness in our own prayers and in our own personal religious lives, we must bring this to pass.

And as a result of this we must give more careful thought to the great central truths and principles of our religion. We must have a higher level of intelligent understanding of the Church's teachings, and this is especially demanded of us in a Church which gives, and rightly gives, to the laity so large a part in her life and her government as this Church gives. We all know the kind of talk that is so common today about the unimportance of belief, and about getting free from the trammels of creeds and dogmas. That kind of talk is as shallow, and as unintelligent as it is un-Christian. We Churchmen and Churchwomen must be ready to answer that sort of statement wherever we meet it. Our Lord Jesus Christ brings us a revelation of truth from above. Will anyone deny the right of a Christian to think? Truth which in all other spheres we reverence as the very voice of God is surely not unimportant in religion. Doctrine is only another name for a clear, definite authoritative statement of truth presented to us as worthy of our thought and our belief. A religion with no message for the mind, with no doctrine to teach, is a religion of mere vague feeling and sentimentality. Such a religion could not hold the interest, nor meet the need of virile, earnest, thinking men and women. We need to think more intelligently about Jesus Christ. Who is He? What is our relation to Him? Why

does He hold the supreme place in the faith of men that He does hold? Why do we worship Him and offer our prayers to Him? These are questions which we must be able to answer if our religion as Christians is to have life and meaning for us. And the answer to every one of these questions is a doctrine. It is the answer to these questions of vital, personal religion which we have in the sublime words of the two great, simple Catholic Creeds of the Church. There is an unmeasured responsibility resting on us today as members of this ancient Church of the English-speaking race. We are all thanking God for the Washington Conference and for the hope which it holds out of peace and brotherhood among the nations. But the one sure basis and hope of brotherhood among the nations is firm, close fellowship and brotherhood among the English-speaking peoples. And the great Anglican Church, of which we are a part, holds high and special relation to this hope. It is this Church which is identified with the whole history and development of the English-speaking race. It is this Church, through the long centuries of its life, from the time of its first planting in Britain, which far more than all other influences has moulded and produced that type of character which gives the English-speaking peoples their place of responsibility in the world, and as Churchmen and Churchwomen we should never forget nor overlook this. It is this Church which today stands as the great central religious influence, the great central bond of union among the peoples of English speech. It is this Church which must lead towards the visible reunion of all the English-speaking Christians of the world, and so prepare the way for that unity of the whole Church of Christ on earth for which Our Lord prayed and which we must have always in our prayers and in our hopes.

It is the full, simple, Sacramental Religion of Christ, as held and taught by this Church, which men need today and which will satisfy their minds and hearts if we will hold it up faithfully before

them. We are proud of our heritage and mission as Americans. Let us not be unmindful of our great heritage and mission as members of this Anglo-American Catholic Church. We know the wonderful part that this Church has played in the life of our Country from its beginning. Let us make it a greater power for Christ in our own land and in the world than it has ever been.

And may the blessing of God rest ever upon this ancient Mother Parish of our diocese which has borne its witness so nobly from the beginning; may it continue in the future as in all its past, "steadfast, unmoveable, always abounding in the work of the Lord"; may it be in the days to come a still mightier influence among our people in this city and in all our land, for simple, personal faith in Our Lord Jesus Christ, Who is our Guide, our Hope, our Friend, the one, only Saviour of the world.

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